FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Latin America

FBIS-LAT-89-248
Thursday
28 December 1989

Daily Report
Latin America

FBIS-LAT-89-248 *28 December 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

COPPPAL Final Resolutions Released *[Montevideo LA HORA POPULAR 19 Dec]* 1

CARIBBEAN

Cuba

Minister Views UN Resolution, Asylum Offer *[Madrid EFE]* 2
Broadcasts During Intervention 'Annoyed' U.S. *[Havana Radio]* 2
Reportage on Sixth Regular Session of ANPP 3
Council of Ministers Reports Back *[Havana TV]* 3
Province's Progress Outlined *[Havana Radio]* 4
Castro Closes Meeting *[Havana Radio]* 4
Havana TV Reports on Situation in Romania 5
Situation Returning to Normal *[Havana TV]* 5

MEXICO

Salinas Not Considering Recognition of Endara *[NOTIMEX]* 6
Panamanian Ambassador Resigns, Requests Asylum *[NOTIMEX]* 6
Government Denies Report on Weapons Trafficking *[NOTIMEX]* 6
U.S. Report Lacks 'Any Basis' *[Havana TV]* 6
Air Force Plane To Carry Aid to Panama 29 Dec *[Mexico City TV]* 6
* Krauss Appointment in Baja California Viewed 6
* Reservations Expressed *[ZETA 13-20 Oct]* 6
* Appointee's Goals *[ZETA 13-20 Oct]* 10
* Biographic Sketch *[ZETA 13-20 Oct]* 10
* Colosio Urges PRI Internal Changes *[EXCELSIOR 26 Nov]* 11
* State Political Infighting Described *[PROCESO 13 Nov]* 13
* CCE Seen as Subservient to Government *[EXCELSIOR 27 Nov]* 14

CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador

Government, FMLN Announce Holiday Truces *[DIARIO LATINO 23 Dec]* 16
Rebels Said Not Keeping Truce *[San Salvador TV]* 16
New Weapon Supply Routes to FMLN Uncovered *[LA PRENSA GRAFICA 27 Dec]* 17

Nicaragua

Defense Ministry Warns Against U.S. Invasion *[Managua Radio]* 17
Government To Delay U.S. Embassy Supply Flights *[Managua Radio]* 17
Communique on Reason for Delay *[BARRICADA 27 Dec]* 18
Antiaircraft Forces Fire at Unidentified Planes *[Managua Radio]* 18
Official on Airspace Violation *[Hamburg DPA]* 18

Panama

Tribunal Acts To Ratify 7 May Elections 19
Documents Drafted *[Panama City Radio]* 19
Endara Proclaimed President *[ACAN]* 19
Electoral Tribunal Resolution *[Panama City TV]* 19
Endara Views Current Issues in News Conference *[Panama Radio]* 20
Decree Suspends Judicial Operations for 7 Days *[Panama City Radio]* 22
Reconstruction Begins; Some Leave Nunciature *[Hamburg DPA]* 22
Castrejon Leaves Nunciature, Taken to U.S. Base *[ACAN]* 22
Several Officials Hiding in Nunciature *[Panama City Radio]* 23
Former President Rodriguez Not To Seek Asylum *[Panama City Radio]* 23
Former Minister Kam Arrested; Others Captured *[AFP]* 24
Former Legislator Paredes Turned Over to U.S. *[Panama City Radio]* 24
Endara Appoints More New Government Officials *[Panama City Radio]* 24
Arias Announces New Governors, Status of Media *[Panama City Radio]* 24
Government Announces More New Appointments *[Panama City Radio]* 25
TV Commentary Demands Decision from Nunciature *[Panama City TV]* 25
LA ESTRELLA Editorial Calls for Unity *[LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA 27 Dec]* 26
Banking Commission President Views Restrictions *[Panama City TV]* 26
Panama City Mayor Cochez Lists Priorities *[Panama City TV]* 27
Utilities Director Discusses New Policies *[Panama City TV]* 27
Human Rights Committee Letter on Public Force *[Panama City Radio]* 28
Panama City Radio Reports Curfew Hours Reduced 29

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina

Further Commentary on Events in Panama 30
Recognition of Endara 'Premature' *[Madrid EFE]* 30
Government Communique Released *[DYN]* 30
Food Sent to Panama *[TELAM]* 30
Government Considering 'State of Siege' *[DYN]* 30
Government Denies Possibility *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 31
Economy Minister Blames 'Rumors' for Dollar Rise *[TELAM]* 31
Menem Restructures Presidential Secretariats *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 31
Menem, Justicialist Discuss 'Party Discipline' *[BUENOS AIRES HERALD 27 Dec]* 31

Bolivia

Further Commentary on U.S. Action in Panama 32
Government Outlines Position *[PRESENCIA 22 Dec]* 32
Government Releases Communique *[PRESENCIA 21 Dec]* 32
Congress Drafts Resolution *[La Paz Radio]* 33
Protests in Front of U.S. Embassy *[EL DIARIO 22 Dec]* 33
Political Parties' Reaction *[EL DIARIO 21 Dec]* 33
Daily Discusses Causes *[EL DIARIO 22 Dec]* 34
President Paz Zamora on Andean Pact Summit *[EL DIARIO 19 Dec]* 34
Hercules C-130 Airplane Crashes, Kills 24 *[EL DIARIO 22 Dec]* 35

Peru

President Garcia Holds News Conference 25 Dec *[Lima TV]* 38

COPPPAL Final Resolutions Released

PY2612163689 Montevideo LA HORA POPULAR in Spanish 19 Dec 89 p 4

[Report by Jose Luis Martinez]

[Text] The struggle for sovereignty, self-determination, and the full exercise of democracy in the political life of the peoples, the defense of the principle of nonintervention, and the achievement of the Latin American unity are some of the most important aspects of the resolutions of the 15th plenary session of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPPAL) held in Buenos Aires.

Among the priorities of this multinational Latin American organization are the unity, strength, and development of all party members.

It also calls for the creation of new working methods to give priority to practical measures that will help to achieve the objectives and to replace the theory with action in this new period being experienced by Latin America.

The statement says that the COPPPAL must assume a vanguard position, mediate to solve local and regional conflicts, promote the permanent democratization process of countries of the region, activate and expand the congressional diplomacy by congressmen of member parties, and promote within the Latin American Parliament the establishment of a system of popular organizations.

It also calls for rapprochement and dialogue among all political forces of the region, and of all other continents.

It proposes negotiations with the UN Secretariat General to incorporate the COPPPAL in the working team to study proposed solutions to the foreign debt problem, as well as to design expeditious elements to overcome the inter-Latin American debt.

It proposes the regional unity for the treatment of the debt and promotes the processes of economic integration, the elimination of tariff barriers, and the increase of trade among the different countries.

It calls for the transfer of resources for the development of Latin America that will compensate the costs paid in the process of east-west detente, against the European integration, and against the U.S. protectionism.

The statement adds that the COPPPAL must actively participate in the defense of human rights, as well as in the condemnation and investigation of human rights violations, considering that due to their supranationalities these actions do not represent a violation of the nonintervention principle.

Cuba

Minister Views UN Resolution, Asylum Offer

PA2812032889 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Havana, 27 Dec (EFE)—Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca reaffirmed today in statements to the press that his country is willing to grant political asylum to Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

This willingness had already been expressed by Vice Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon, although Alarcon's statement was made before it was confirmed that Noriega had taken refuge in the Papal Embassy in Panama; therefore, Malmierca's statement is the first offer of asylum received by the Panamanian general.

Malmierca added that Cuba is engaged in "intensive consultations" with other countries, which he did not identify, to present to the UN General Assembly, which will meet in New York tomorrow, 28 December, a draft resolution condemning the U.S. military invasion of Panama.

Cuba is promoting this proposed resolution after the United States used its veto power against a resolution of condemnation presented in the UN Security Council.

According to Malmierca, Cuba's proposed resolution has the support of many Latin American countries and of the Nonaligned Movement.

The proposal, in addition to condemning the invasion, will demand respect for the spirit and letter of the canal treaties signed by James Carter and Omar Torrijos in 1977. The treaties call for sovereignty over the canal to revert to Panama in the year 2000.

"We are certain that the UN General Assembly will ratify the universal condemnation of this new and flagrant violation of international law committed by the United States," Malmierca added.

Regarding the cordon that U.S. troops have established around the Cuban Embassy in Panama, where some Panamanians loyal to Noriega have taken refuge, Malmierca said that it is a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention, and one that "we have, of course, protested."

Raul Roa, another Cuban vice foreign minister, said in Havana today that "the UN General Assembly must make a severe statement against the U.S. military intervention." Roa said that the draft resolution is being discussed with countries that are of like mind, and he was optimistic that the UN General Assembly will "condemn this flagrant violation of international law."

Broadcasts During Intervention 'Annoyed' U.S.

FL2812033489 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0019 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Exclusivo" commentary]

[Text] Apparently, the Yankees were annoyed by Radio Rebelde's broadcasts when they intervened militarily in Panama, and now ridiculous tantrums of the traitorous loudmouths constitute the complaints of anti-Cuban radio stations that find themselves impotent before the Cuban solidarity and that attempt to confuse our experienced people.

Dazzled by the consumption society and bought in body and soul by imperialism, cheap traitors, incoherent and without ideas of their own, repeat like a parrot what their bosses at the Pentagon and the White House order them to say in exchange for a handful of dollars.

It is good to say today that the people are not confused with ridiculous remarks of people who, without moral values or prestige, have increased the payroll of the most despised traitors and serve the cause of those who have killed sons of their own people and seek refuge in history's dunghill.

Cuba was and is with the Panamanian cause. It supported the men who heroically faced the Yankee hordes in San Miguelito and Chorrillo, in David and Chitre, in Chiriqui and Panama City. Cuba was and will be with the Panamanian struggle, which today begins a new chapter in its country's history to achieve sovereignty and final independence. We know that sooner rather than later—as Salvador Allende said—the large boulevards will also be opened for Panamanians.

The Cuban people, internationalist, victorious in Giron and in Angola, brandishing the banners of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, believes in its future, believes in the people, and will always support just struggles.

Latin America is a single country for Cubans. The support and solidarity of the people of Marti and the people of Fidel will be wherever a combatant fist is raised. However, Rome pays traitors but despises them. The Yankee empire pays the cheap traitors so they organize agitation and attempt to confuse. It uses them although it despises them. The true Cubans, the ones of Marti and Fidel, the ones from the Sierra and Angola, the ones of the victorious days of the Bay of Pigs, those who together with the commander in chief build a better socialist society, do not let ourselves be confused by demoralized and traitorous parrots.

Radio Rebelde's transmissions bothered the Yankees so much that they first attempted to interfere with them and now, using their puppets, they use repulsive arguments, use worn out and old excuses. Traitors belong in the sewer of history. This is and will be their place. To agitate the moment only causes stench.

Reportage on Sixth Regular Session of ANPP

Council of Ministers Reports Back

FL2712224789 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report by Rosalia Arnaez and Lissette Bustamante]

[Excerpt] [Arnaez] A work team reports, specially for this newscast, the developments of the Sixth Regular Session of the Third Legislature of the National Assembly of the People's Government. The Council of Ministers' report back is among the most important things discussed today. In its report, the Council of Ministers reveals the new and practical work style of the government. This is a result of the leadership, demands, and untiring work of our commander in chief, who has favored the implementation of measures to solve the most urgent problems, foresee difficulties, establish priorities, and rectify projects conceived incorrectly some time ago.

The Executive Committee has been meeting every week since September 1988. As a principle, it has to make decisions with a strategic view, assessing the country's problems to decide what is more advantageous, to guarantee convertible currency exports and the replacement of imports, among other basic principles. For example, of the 42 meetings the Council of Ministers report refers to, the urban transportation problem in the capital was discussed in 15 of them. Priority was also given to the telephone service situation in Havana and the periodic inspection of the programs that guarantee food for the people.

The international activities the ANPP has developed were also the object of attention. Among them are the visits of East Europe delegations and parliamentary exchanges with Latin America and the Caribbean. As a projection for 1990, the ANPP foresees participation in international events to let our situation be known and to defend the most just position regarding international issues.

[Bustamante] The Ministry of Construction Materials Industry's report back to the ANPP was approved with extensive and, in my opinion, thorough debates during which delegates gave their views and made suggestions.

The impact of material industry factories on pollution and the work being performed to eliminate it were discussed during the second seating. The subjects of quality and savings were also discussed as fundamental matters for the country.

[Begin recording] [Speaker identified by caption as Havana delegate] I say man has to be aware of this. The other day I built a [words indistinct], and I went to see the construction enterprise technician so he could give me the material. I told him about the holes I was going to do, and he told me that according to the measurements of the holes he said 40 bags of cement were needed. I asked him: Comrade, why are you giving me so much? He said: This is what is needed. I said: It is for a 6-meter-high column with a 4-inch pipe. Why are you giving me so much? I said: Give me 20. He ended up giving me 24 bags of cement. I told him I am going to use the [words indistinct] because I don't think it needs so much. I am not a technician, but I convinced him to give me 24 instead of 40. I took 24 and used 20. I consulted many experienced bricklayers when I was building it because I was worried since I was arguing with a technician and I am not a technician. I had to be careful. They told me: Don't worry because that is not going to fall. That is fine. Comrades, that was a small project, an insignificant one. I saved 20 bags of cement.

[Castro] And the technician [words indistinct].

[Delegate, interrupting] The technician wanted to use 40.

[Castro] What is the technician's name?

[Delegate] We didn't argue a lot. I convinced him right away. What I want to say is the following. [laughter]

[Castro] Where is the technician from? [laughter] It turns out that we suffer because of a technician, and he doesn't suffer a bit.

[Delegate] I tell you, how much did I save in that little thing, in that repair? This consciousness has to be beaten into the heads. Things cannot be done poorly so a wall doesn't crack or a column like the one I built doesn't fall.

[Castro] This is not a matter of consciousness but a concept problem. We are here listening to the story and the Artemisa workers, who are the same kind of workers that work there. They are producing much more cement with fewer workers. It is the matter of the concepts that are applied with the same workers. I believe that the work Homero [Crabb—minister of construction] is doing could progress much if it is left to consciousness alone. If they take concepts, concepts to the people.... [changes thought] Sometimes people think they are doing things well but if they are misguided, they have a clear conscience—he has no idea that he is doing something wrong. They are tendencies that had been developing. They made arrangements here and had security. They got used to get all the cement they asked for. [end recording]

[Bustamante] The experience of the Martires de Artemisa factory, the steps the country is taking to create a Cuban line for the production of cement in the shortest period of time, and the favorable results of the Siguaney factory were important moments of the first day of work of the ANPP dedicated to the construction material industry.

[Begin Castro recording] They are doing a very useful thing. I believe that the Artemisa factory is a very good example. [end recording]

[Arnaez] Work has been done here with a new labor concept since May. The contingent's spirit increased the monthly average production by 7,000 tons. Last 15

December, the Artemisa factory workers fulfilled their annual plan. Tomorrow, they will complete 15,000 additional tons, and they expect to produce 4,000 more before the end of the year.

[Begin recording] [Castro] This is why all this has had to be done. The experiment is very encouraging. I don't know if other factories are interested. Possibly, the other factories may be interested. Does anyone know about it?

[First speaker identified by illegible caption] We have talked with Linares [not further identified] to, as you mentioned a few moments ago, gradually take this to other factories as their conditions make it possible.

[Second speaker identified by illegible caption] As we began to introduce the mechanism we had at the Blas Roca Calderio, we gathered a number of experiences. We can now say, as our commander just said, that had it not been for this new work concept and the implementation of it our production plan of 510,000 tons of cement would surely not have been fulfilled.

[Castro] It is good to take this idea to the cement factory. I do not know if it can be improved, it has to be studied well, it is needed. All this has to be looked into. The possibilities are the ones I mentioned here. After that, we have to look into our own production lines.

[Third speaker identified by illegible caption] We believe it is pretty clear. We are optimistic. We are certain that something can be done quickly. I believe that at this time, we have had good achievements for a 300,000 tons of cement factory.

[Castro] When would construction need to be started?

[Third speaker] Well, construction would need to start now, commander. [end recording]

[Bustamante] Likewise, the deputies dealt with the insufficient transportation services and distribution of construction materials, their quality, and the need the country has to produce no less than 3.9 million tons of cement next year. [passage omitted]

Province's Progress Outlined

FL2712200089 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Santiago de Cuba Province progress report and the debate on it kept the deputies busy today at the morning meeting of the 2d day of the Sixth Session of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] that began yesterday at the Palace of Conventions. The session is being attended by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, who is also actively participating in it.

The president of the government organization in the province, Eduardo Fernandez Boada, read a document which outlined the main accomplishments of the province since 1983 and the efforts that are still being carried out this year.

[Begin Fernandez recording] During the present year, a great effort is being made to finish over 1,000 investment projects and approximately 4,000 housing units. We are also going to make a great effort on the most important projects for the fourth Party Congress. As for the food plan, this year we will complete five central porcine centers and the [word indistinct] plant. In 1990, four more integral centers will be completed as well as two liquid fodder plants. By the end of next year, we will have an installation that will permit us to produce 30,000 tons of pork. [end recording]

During the debate, the deputies discussed the cultural development of the urban and rural masses, the [word indistinct] of radio and television signals, the elimination of unhealthy neighborhoods, and the low yields of the sugar industry. Regarding this last subject, the delegate of the Ministry of the Sugar Industry said that the low yield was basically a result of the change in technology in two of the main sugar plants in the territory and due to problems related to mechanization. This subject also encouraged the participation of deputy Fidel Castro.

[Begin Castro recording] I think more factors are involved than the ones the comrade here pointed out. For example, the changes in the variety of sugarcane influence the yield. When we began the sugarcane harvest, we had a very good sugarcane—it was the 43-62, the Barbados. But the sugarcane was lost with the rains; it was marvelous sugarcane. It is very good to start out the harvest with it. Thus, the composition of the varieties of sugarcane must be studied and its influence on the harvest must be studied. The yield also depends on when the harvest is begun, late or early. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

At the request of the commander in chief, the minister of the sugar industry spoke, Juan Herrera, who discussed the strategy that Santiago de Cuba is using in this sector.

[Begin Herrera recording] The province's strategy is based on three elements: increase of sugar using less land, support to [word indistinct] agriculture, and support to agriculture with a yield for [word indistinct] animal. [end recording]

The debates continue on Santiago de Cuba's progress report, and after its approval, the deputies will also find out and sanction the draft resolutions for the economic and social development plan and for the 1990 budget. Their work will continue until they cover the points on the agenda for the session which will end today at the Palace of Conventions.

Castro Closes Meeting

FL2812034989 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 0332 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] In his closing remarks at the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] meeting, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist

Party of Cuba Central Committee, has described the international situation as tragic and dramatic in every sense. He said we have prepared in many fields, especially in defense. This is an area in which we will not be able to count on anyone other than ourselves.

The president of the Councils of State and Ministers said we have been working for a long time in the defense of the country and have made a big effort. We are certain that we cannot be occupied. Our commander in chief stressed that all the people participate in the defense of the country and asserted that it has been the best time spent. We feel very confident in this field, he said.

Havana TV Reports on Situation in Romania

FL2812034689 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] It was officially reported in Bucharest that Ion Iliescu was today appointed president of the Council of the National Salvation Front in its assembly meeting today. The National Salvation Front will guide Romania's destiny until the April elections.

PRENSA LATINA reports from Bucharest that a decree read over radio and television indicates that Petre Roman was appointed prime minister. The position of defense minister will be held by Nicolae Militaru.

All labor legislation will be revised in Romania under a new constitution that will be adopted and under the international conventions that pertain to the right of the workers to free association and to participate in trade unions.

It was also reported from Bucharest that a special military tribunal held a swift trial and condemned former Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescus and his wife, Elena, to capital punishment. The sentences were immediately fulfilled, according to official Romanian sources.

It was learned that the unofficial tally notes the recent events in Bucharest and other cities in the interior of Romania have resulted in several thousand victims, in addition to considerable material losses. According to the Romanian press, in the capital alone the number of dead exceeds 500 and more than 2,000 people have been injured. In the interior of the country, the most damaged city was Timisoara, which was practically in ruins, according to observers who visited the city.

In Moscow, Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov announced that the countries that signed the Warsaw Pact agree that it is desirable to avoid any kind of collective action in reference to the current process of change in Romania.

Situation Returning to Normal

FL2712235789 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The situation in Romania appears to be getting back to normal although sporadic shooting is still heard in Bucharest and more often in Timisoara. The composition of the National Salvation Front Council was announced today. The front assumed power in Romania until elections are held. The elections are expected to be held in April.

Ion Iliescu, 59, was named chairman. He is former secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. He was replaced in 1981 after he was accused by the former president of ideological problems. Petre Roman, 43, was named prime minister. Up to now, he was chief of the hydrotechnology department of the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest.

Speaking before television cameras, Iliescu asserted that the only force of the current officials is unity based on the general consensus of all Romanian sectors. The common denominator of the 39 members that compose the National Salvation Front Council is the opposition to the Nicolae Ceausescu government. Ceausescu was executed, together with his wife, yesterday.

It was also decided in Bucharest that the State Security Department merge with the Defense Ministry starting today.

According to the Romanian radio, new underground tunnels are discovered almost daily. They were used by Ceausescu's personal security forces. According to the source, some 50 residences or buildings have been found to be linked through those tunnels. According to the new officials, they are being used as safe houses by members of the old government.

Also, three new organizations announced their creation in Romania. They are: The National Christian Peasant Party, the group called Peasant Workers Fraternity, and the Democratic Party of Romania.

In Moscow, it was reported that the USSR recognized the National Salvation Front Council as the new Romanian leadership.

Salinas Not Considering Recognition of Endara

FL2712212189 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2112 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Mexico City, 27 Dec (NOTIMEX)—Today, the Presidency of the Republic denied that President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is considering recognizing the Panamanian Government headed by Guillermo Endara after the ousting of General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

A newspaper report noted today that President Salinas de Gortari had commented that Mexico is waiting for the events to unfold in Panama to decide whether or not he will recognize the Guillermo Endara government.

The report said the president had made the comment yesterday during a private luncheon with Institutional Revolutionary Party legislators, but the source asserted that the president had not mentioned the subject during the luncheon. The Presidency's Information General Directorate said Mexico's position on Panama was established in the 20 December communique. The Presidency added that, in the communique, our country ratified its adherence to the principles of self-determination and nonintervention, as well as to the Estrada Doctrine.

Panamanian Ambassador Resigns, Requests Asylum

FL2812021789 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0115 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Mexico City, 27 Dec (NOTIMEX)—Jorge Turner, Panamanian ambassador to Mexico, announced his decision here today to resign his post and ask for political asylum in this country, considering the presence of U.S. invader troops in Panama.

He said: I cannot accept a government imposed by George Bush's submachine guns. For this reason, he added, I will leave the diplomatic mission entrusted to me as representative to Mexico. With Panama guarded by U.S. troops, I will resign my diplomatic post and ask for political asylum, he said.

Turner asserted that the situation in his country is difficult. Within this framework, he hopes the Vatican will be able to obtain safe-conduct for General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who sought refuge in the Apostolic Nunciature in his country.

Government Denies Report on Weapons Trafficking

FL2812020489 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0049 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Mexico City, 27 Dec (NOTIMEX)—The Foreign Secretariat termed as false newspaper reports saying that the country is being used to send weapons from Cuba to the Salvadoran guerrilla. The Foreign Secretariat asserted that the news item published in the national press citing AP in Washington as a source regarding an alleged use of Mexico for weapon trafficking is not true.

The communique explained that the information was verified with the National Defense and Navy Secretariats and the Governments of the States of Yucatan and Quintana Roo. Nevertheless, the Foreign Secretariat added that the above-mentioned secretariats and the Yucatan peninsula governments ordered a doubling of vigilance to prevent any type of action of this sort.

The Foreign Secretariat said it asked the U.S. Government, through its ambassador to Mexico, that if it has information on this matter to convey it to the Mexican authorities so necessary actions can be taken.

U.S. Report Lacks 'Any Basis'

FL2712153989 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] A few hours ago Mexican Government sources cited by NOTIMEX news agency denied reports from the United States that say Cuba sends weapons to the Salvadoran guerrilla via the Yucatan Peninsula. Officials from the U.S. Government, who were also not identified by international news agencies, said on Monday that after the slowing down of the alleged arms supply to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] through Nicaraguan territory, it could be resumed from Cuba through Yucatan.

Some Mexican sources have reported on the Mexican Government's statement denying the U.S. report, which is said to lack any basis.

Air Force Plane To Carry Aid to Panama 29 Dec

FL2812040089 Mexico City Red Nacional 13 Imevision Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The Mexican Red Cross will send to Panama 2 tons of medications, food, and clothing. The Mexican Air Force plane, which will leave for Panama tomorrow morning, will carry 300 kg of food, half a ton of clothing, and medicine. The plane will return tomorrow afternoon or night.

* Krauss Appointment in Baja California Viewed

* Reservations Expressed

90EM0041A Tijuana ZETA in Spanish 13-20 Oct 89 pp 22A-24A, 26A

[Article by Francisco J. Ortiz Franco]

[Text] Theoretically, with the appointment of future officials, particularly in the Office of the Attorney General, Ernesto Ruffo Appel has taken an important step in forming a good government.

The Office of the Attorney General has always been considered the most vulnerable part of a government. Ernesto Ruffo Appel has strengthened it with the appointment of Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel as the state's attorney general, according to a consensus of experts.

The majority of the lawyers and officials interviewed by ZETA agreed that he is "an expert, upright, honest, intelligent, experienced, capable, calm, easy to deal with, professional in manner, of good character and is loyal."

By contrast, some persons indicated that he is not the right person because of his links to the supporters of former Governor Roberto de La Madrid. They said: "It is like returning to the past."

Others said that "in the Office of the Attorney General, Alejandro Rosas Romandia, Ricardo Gilbert, and, obviously, Dr Serrano will be in charge."

Furthermore, the appointment took place in an unusual context in at least two aspects.

In one sense Dr Krauss Coronel was appointed after an authentic and open process of soundings carried on by Dr Ernesto Ruffo Appel and reported in part in the pages of ZETA, after which the incoming, constitutionally elected governor revealed at the beginning of the second week of September that he had problems in finding the ideal person to hold this important position.

In a second sense the appointments of future officials were made long before they are usually made.

In effect, after the publication of ZETA, many people, and predominantly lawyers, telephoned this weekly publication or called at its offices to recommend certain professional jurists to hold the position of state's attorney general.

The publication of succeeding issues of ZETA helped the future governor, to some extent, to find the candidates.

The qualifications sought by Ruffo were: "a first class lawyer, serious, honorable, and resident in Tijuana."

During the following weeks many people were recommended who, in general terms, approached the qualifications set down by the incoming governor. On all of the lists published by this weekly magazine appeared the name of Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel.

The second aspect which made the appointments of incoming officials different is that they were announced much earlier than was customary. Generally, the governor-elect announces his cabinet on the eve of his assumption of office and even after that date.

In this case Ruffo Appel announced his appointments, doing so gradually and more than 1 month in advance of assuming office.

First, he reviewed and then did not deny that he was considering Hector Teran Teran, Eugenio Elorduy, and Victor Hermosillo for appointment as secretaries of the interior, finance, and public works, respectively.

Afterwards the names of other, future officials were announced. And finally, at a press conference, he announced the names of the rest of the team, among whom, because of his importance, the state's attorney general, the legal representative of the state government and chief of the Public Prosecutor's Office and of the State Judicial Police [PJE], stood out.

Another aspect which underlines the importance of the Office of the Attorney General in any administration is the fact that, traditionally, the occupant of this office has been the source of corruption and, consequently, a source of discredit for the state government.

What happened during the last two presidential terms provides a very clear example.

For all of these reasons it was of great significance that the experts, even those who think that he is not the ideal person, consider that the man appointed by Dr Ernesto Ruffo Appel to hold this position is honest, capable, and experienced.

A De Luxe Office of the Attorney General

In response to a request from ZETA, officials and lawyers expressed their views on the appointment of Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel as state's attorney general in the state government headed by Dr Ernesto Ruffo.

Braulio Gomez Veronica, second judge of the Criminal Court, said:

"Dr Krauss is an excellent man. I have known him for many years. We have worked together for many years—he as a judge and I as an agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office. Afterwards, he also worked as first deputy attorney general and I as an agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office. He has long experience in the public service. He is very knowledgeable about criminal as well as civil matters. He is upright, honest, and capable. I have a very high opinion of him. Someone like him was needed in the Office of the Attorney General."

Benigno Licea Gonzalez, former agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office and now a candidate for admission to the bar, said of the future attorney general:

"He is very capable and intelligent and combines academic with professional experience. He has had a great career. He is the coauthor of the basic law on the Office of the Attorney General. He has high moral qualifications. I believe that he is probably the best person for the job."

Alejandro Vazquez Rivera, third judge of the Criminal Court, said:

"He is a person with much experience. His career began as an agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office and moved on to his being a judge of the Criminal Court, a deputy attorney general, and now a justice. This is the right choice to have made."

Gerardo Davila Infante, an agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office, said:

"This is a good appointment. Previously, he had already held the post of first deputy attorney general during the

administration of former Governor Roberto de La Madrid. He has experience, and I understand that he is a calm person, which is necessary in view of the delicacy of his position."

Dr Arturo Vega, from Ensenada, does not agree with the appointment of Krauss Coronel. He says that he does not question his qualification as a professional jurist, nor does he cast doubt on his ability. However, it seems strange to him that Governor-elect Ernesto Ruffo would have appointed him, knowing that he is a supporter of Roberto de La Madrid.

Dr Vega, who said that he supported Krauss, was asked at the same time: "Does this mean that Roberto de La Madrid has influence over Ernesto Ruffo Appel?" The lawyer replied: "Krauss Coronel is totally under the influence of the former governor, who was born in Calexico."

He also said that the facts do not agree with what Ernesto Ruffo Appel has said, since he is allowing the entry into office of Krauss Coronel, which is due to the regrouping of the forces supporting the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] and Roberto de La Madrid in the government of the PAN [National Action Party].

He said that the group supporting Alejandro Rosas Romandia "is now dividing up the various positions," and he stated that the supporters of Roberto de La Madrid would return to power. He told ZETA: "You may be sure that Ricardo Gilbert will be the director of the State Judicial Police."

German Rodriguez Farias, president of the Emilio Rabasa College of Lawyers, had a different view:

"Krauss Coronel is a lawyer who knows criminal law. I have always heard good things said about him. He is honest in his behavior. I think that he will be a good prosecutor because he has character, which is one of the essential requirements of the job. Furthermore, he has experience, ability, and honesty. If Dr Victor Manuel Vazquez Fernandez is also appointed deputy attorney general in Tijuana, we will have a first class Office of the Attorney General."

Fernando Castro Trenti said: "Krauss Coronel is a professional lawyer who has made his career outside of party activities. We know him as an agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office, as a deputy attorney general, and now as a justice. No improper activities have been imputed to him. The general comment is that he is a person without any stain on his reputation. This is an excellent appointment. It fills us candidates for admission to the bar with assurance that things are going to be done well. I think that this is an eminently professional and not a political appointment."

Oscar Tellez Ulloa, president of the Superior Court of Justice, commented:

"I knew Krauss Coronel as a brother judge before I had heard of his credentials and his rectitude. Furthermore, I can confirm that he is a great friend and a loyal person. This is an appointment which should be greeted in Baja California with great pride, because he is a guarantee of honesty and good sense."

Delfino Mendoza Rivero, a candidate for admission to the bar, stated:

"He is honest, easy to deal with, capable, and just."

Juan Francisco Franco, a lawyer and member of the National Action Party, commented:

"This is an inadequate appointment. It means returning to the past, to the period of former Governor Roberto de La Madrid. Rosas Romandia and people like him are going to return."

Two other lawyers, who asked that their names not be revealed, agreed with Franco and said that those who will have the most influence over the appointment of other officials of the Office of the Attorney General will be Alejandro Rosas Romandia, the former attorney general and cousin of Roberto de La Madrid, and Senator Gustavo Almaraz Montano.

Another lawyer stated that Almaraz had been working to ensure that Krauss Coronel would be appointed attorney general.

Eduardo Krauss Coronel, presently a justice on the Superior Court of Justice of the State of Baja California, won out over Dr Jesus Alberto Osuna Lafarga in the "final selection" for appointment by the incoming constitutional governor. During the previous 2 weeks only these two persons were under consideration by Ruffo Appel, the future governor.

And, in fact, Osuna Lafarga had an advantage in the mind of the incoming governor, a native of Ensenada, because he was known as a supporter of "Roberto." He had served in the state government under Roberto de La Madrid. This was and is an advantage which he has had over Dr Krauss Coronel.

Finally, Dr Ruffo Appel decided to appoint Dr Krauss Coronel.

Specifically, Osuna Lafarga's alleged links to the group headed by former Governor Roberto de La Madrid were the consideration which made him unsuitable for the position, according to some lawyers. However, they agree with the general opinion that Osuna Lafarga is an honest, capable, and experienced person.

The Office of the State Attorney General is responsible for the strict application of the law, through the investigation and prosecution of crimes, with the help of the State Judicial Police. Officials and lawyers consulted by ZETA agreed that the Office of the State Attorney General is the most sensitive and the most controversial element in the governor's office.

The incoming governor himself is aware of this situation. For that reason the appointment of the person who would hold this position was the most difficult and took the longest time.

The sensitivity and controversial aspect of the Office of the State Attorney General can even be measured by the time which those appointed to hold this position have remained in office. Since the administration of Governor Roberto de La Madrid there has not been—with the exception of the incumbent—a state attorney general who has not been relieved of office before the end of his term.

During the 5 years of the administration of Governor Xicotencatl Leyva Mortera there were three state attorneys general: Hector Cardenas Sanmartin, Eliseo Aguinaga Espinoza, and Roberto Morales Grajales.

The stigma of corruption and of scandal marked the last two named above.

And, as generally has happened, the greatest share of corruption and scandal was provided by the State Judicial Police force which, contrary to the provisions of the constitution and the laws passed under it, has been administered independently of the Office of the State Attorney General.

Specifically, the lack of real subordination of the State Judicial Police to the Office of the Attorney General, as is legally required, has been the principal cause of the prevailing corruption in this police force.

Attorney General's Authority Over the Police

In turn this insubordination derives from the fact that the state governor appoints the director of the PJE. Therefore, in practice, the director does not recognize any other leader than the state governor himself, ignoring the attorney general.

This happened with Salvador Hirales Barrera, the present director of the PJE.

It is a reason for concern expressed by people associated with the Office of the Attorney General and the administration of justice.

Dr Braulio Gomez Veronica, second judge of the Criminal Court and one of the lawyers with the greatest public support to be appointed to the position of attorney general, said: "It has often happened that, as it is the governor who appoints the director of the State Judicial Police, the latter regards himself as coming directly under the governor, and he ignores the attorney general."

Dr Gerardo Davila Infante, agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office, agrees with Gomez Veronica. He stated:

"The agents of the State Judicial Police should be given authority to carry out real investigations. Above all, the attorney general must have absolute control over this police body."

Dr German Rodriguez Farias, president of the "Emilio O. Rabasa A. C." College of Lawyers, expressed a similar view:

"It is important for the governor to give the attorney general full powers to choose the other officials, so that he may have control over them and may be responsible for them to the governor of the state. He should comply with the basic law on the Office of the Attorney General, which is very good, and pay good salaries, from the attorney general down to the agents of the State Judicial Police, if we wish to speak of true honesty."

When Fernando Castro Trenti, president of the State Federation of Lawyers, was asked about the aspect on which the next attorney general should place the greatest emphasis, he replied:

"Point No 1, he should ensure that Article 21 of the Constitution of the Republic is applied. This article provides that the investigation and prosecution of crimes is a matter for the Public Prosecutor's Office, in the sense that it will have the State Judicial Police under its direct and immediate control."

Castro Trenti said that, "Due to a long-standing and vicious practice, the directors of the State Judicial Police, during almost all of their terms in office, have been, in fact, above the Office of the State Attorney General. That practice has generated a division in authority and the preeminence of the Judicial Police over the Public Prosecutor's Office. Returning to the constitutional order of things is the first challenge for the attorney general, and then undertaking a basic restructuring of the police apparatus."

Apparently, Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel will have some influence over the appointment of other officials in the Office of the Attorney General. In principle he has invited Judge Victor Manuel Vazquez Fernandez to take the position of deputy attorney general in Tijuana.

Some of those interviewed by ZETA also expressed opinions on the probable appointment of Vazquez Fernandez.

Dr German Rodriguez Farias said that if this appointment is made, "We will have a first class Office of the Attorney General."

Fernando Castro Trenti stated that Krauss Coronel and Vazquez Fernandez would make "an excellent team."

And Dr Oscar Tellez Ulloa, president of the State Supreme Court of Justice, expressed the view that the appointment of Vazquez Fernandez "would be a great loss for the Court but of great benefit to the Office of the Attorney General."

* Appointee's Goals

90EM0041B Tijuana ZETA in Spanish
13-20 Oct 89 p 23A

[Article by Francisco J. Ortiz Franco]

[Text] Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel stated firmly: "We are not going to change things in 24 hours, but I assure you that we are going to change them."

In the first interview which he gave as the next attorney general of Baja California, Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel defined for ZETA what he plans to do "on the instructions of Governor-elect Ernesto Ruffo Appel" in the Office of the Attorney General after 1 November:

- Justice for everyone, without regard for their beliefs or social status.
- Greater efficiency in the field of public security.
- Eradicating mistreatment, extortion, and other violations of the law by the State Judicial Police.
- An open door policy for all persons in the Office of the Attorney General.
- Always remembering that the Public Prosecutor's Office is the guardian of the deepest yearnings of society, both urban and rural.
- "Unhesitating" application of the law but with a sense of justice.
- Absolute control and effective authority over the State Judicial Police by the Office of the Attorney General.

Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel, who already had been appointed attorney general designate by Governor-elect Ernesto Ruffo Appel, began his interview with ZETA on 12 October with the following statement: "Our statements will always be short and clear, because we think that actions speak louder than words."

His voice clear and firm, Krauss Coronel stated that he proposes to apply strictly the instructions "of Dr Ernesto Ruffo Appel, governor-elect of Baja California," regarding the administration of justice.

He stated: "There will be impartial justice for everyone, without regard for their beliefs or social status. All of us are equal before the law. We will seek to achieve greater efficiency in the field of public security, which has been improved under the present administration. However, it can be improved even further."

The presently serving Justice of the State Superior Court of Justice paused and continued with greater emphasis:

"We are not going to tolerate for any reason mistreatment, extortion, or attitudes of superiority by agents of the State Judicial Police. We are all tired of that. We are aware that the police must be vigorous men ready to face any danger in defense of society. However, that must not conflict with friendliness or with their being good men."

He added: We firmly intend that "the State Judicial Police will be under the control and absolute authority of the Office of the Attorney General. This is a matter of great importance. We will not tolerate mistreatment or abuse of authority by the police and we will apply the law against those who violate it. However, those who obey the law will be met with the hand of friendship and will have the support of Governor Ernesto Ruffo Appel and of the attorney general."

He was asked: "Do you consider it necessary to have drug examinations for members of the State Judicial Police and, if they test positive, will you apply the law against them?"

Krauss Coronel replied: "We will do everything implied in the guarantee that those who serve the Office of the Attorney General and society will be good people."

Regarding the Public Prosecutor's Office, he said:

"The Public Prosecutor's Office is the guardian of the deepest yearnings of society, both in the cities as well as in the countryside. The Public Prosecutor's Office is not like the Inquisition. However, we will not hesitate to apply the law against those who infringe upon it. We will always apply the law with justice and will look for better ways of effectively repairing the harm done to the victims of crime."

Eduardo Krauss Coronel said that, on instructions from Dr Ernesto Ruffo Appel, he is already studying a way of increasing the salaries of agents of the State Judicial Police and making available to this police body and to the Public Prosecutor's Office greater material support.

At the end of the interview with ZETA he said firmly: "We are not going to change things in 24 hours, but I assure you that we are going to change them."

* Biographic Sketch

90EM0041C Tijuana ZETA in Spanish
13-20 Oct 89 p 24A

[Article by Francisco J. Ortiz Franco]

[Text] Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel, the future attorney general of Baja California, was born in Mexico City but has lived in Tijuana since he was a child.

He completed elementary studies at the Miguel F. Martinez School and secondary and college preparatory studies at School of Special Studies No 29. He studied law at the Autonomous University of Guadalajara from 1955 to 1960, graduating with a law degree.

Krauss Coronel began his career as a civil servant in 1964, working as second secretary for agreements in the Second Civil Court of the Judicial District of Tijuana.

In 1965 he was promoted to be first secretary for agreements in the same court and in the same year was appointed a judge. He served in this capacity until 1969.

From 1969 to 1971 he was third judge of criminal affairs in Tijuana.

In 1971 he began his career in the Office of the State Attorney General, after being appointed agent of the Public Prosecutor's Office for the Common Jurisdiction, attached to the Civil and Criminal Courts of the Judicial District of Tijuana.

From 1977 to 1983 he functioned as first deputy attorney general in the state, acting as a substitute for the attorney general.

In November 1983, when this assignment was completed, Dr Eduardo Krauss Coronel practiced law as a candidate lawyer until he was appointed judge of the State Superior Court of Justice by Governor Oscar Baylon Chacon in January 1989. He held this position until the present.

Eduardo Krauss Coronel is an experienced marksman with the pistol.

This is the man chosen by Dr Ernesto Ruffo Appel to hold the position of attorney general in the government which Dr Ruffo will head, beginning on 1 November.

* Colosio Urges PRI Internal Changes

90EM0051A Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 26 Nov 89 pp 1-A, 29-A, 42-A

[Report by Lourdes Galaz, Roberto Vizcaino, Renato Davalos, and Carlos A. Medina]

[Text] The Institutional Revolutionary Party needs a sweeping internal transformation "vis-a-vis the nation" in order to maintain its political supremacy and spur a reform of the State that will do away with paternal authoritarianism and pave the way for a high-quality, sovereign State "that will govern and legislate impartially for all Mexicans and maintain a permanently critical attitude in exercising power."

Speaking before the 14th National Council, which was meeting in Plutarco Elias Calles Auditorium, Luis Donaldo Colosio, the president of PRI, put forth for discussion among party members the general guidelines for changing their party and clarified that the point is not to undertake "a reform of the bureaucracy or of blind top echelons, nor by dint of democratic extremism."

The party, he said, will move towards democracy, modernization, and solidarity with the have-nots. However, he cautioned, PRI will have to abandon its complacent, flashy positions, "cease to be the voice of the government," and "decide to have its own voice." The following ought to be made clear, he indicated: "We are the party in government, not of the government."

Luis Donaldo Colosio spoke to more than 2,500 regional leaders of the party. He suggested an exhaustive and critical review of the organization's basic documents, as well as changes in the foundations of its three sectors (CNC [National Peasant Confederation], CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers], and CNOP [National Confederation of Popular Organizations]) to do away with "parcels of power and to make political room for career activists who are devoted and loyal to their causes."

He asserted, however, that in PRI "everything may change except our identification with the Mexican Revolution."

The national leader also clearly indicated that "our decision to change does and will represent a break with the myths and arrangements that are blocking change, with unrepresentative leaders, with antidemocratic practices, with top-echelon decisionmaking, and with the servile forms of political promotion, ideological make-believe, and mercenary dealmaking."

He also stated that there would be continuity with the past marked by loyalty, unity, and teamwork among PRI ranks, with the progressive bent of previous generations, and with the grassroots commitment to democracy, justice, and freedom. "This," he noted, "is our patrimony for change."

Colosio indicated that the decision to change PRI "has deep historic roots and an honorable social motive." It is not an "opportunistic" reform.

Furthermore, he specified that the party is reforming to win votes and to turn political supremacy into an agenda for justice, into the practice of democracy, and into the exercise of solidarity.

He called on PRI members to take up the challenge of building a political organization with the vision, talent, and courage to head the new culture and the new political task.

Colosio spoke for 50 minutes. The address by the PRI president broke with traditional PRI political language. He was interrupted eight times by prolonged applause, such as when he asserted that "democracy as we members of PRI understand it means moving from the politics of rejecting adversaries to politics as compromise and respect for differences."

In this context he stated that violence and intolerance reveal the existence of disorganized and manipulable social groups, as well as "abuses by aggressive minorities that intimidate the citizenry."

Therefore, PRI now intends to promote a new democratic political culture that will delve into and explore negotiated solutions through debate, dialogue, tolerance, and explanation.

Past and Present of PRI

In the first section of his 31-page speech Senator Colosio recalled his party's origins in the late 1920's. The PNR [National Revolutionary Party], he said, was the first party, in the contemporary meaning of the word, to appear in the country's political history.

It became the Party of the Mexican Revolution in 1938 to hasten, deepen, and channel the reforms of the revolution and to bolster sovereignty. The Institutional Revolutionary Party was born in 1946 to lay the groundwork of Mexican democracy and forge a national consensus around the great task of development.

The party leader then said that as in 1929, 1938, and 1946 the motivation and backdrop today "is loyalty to the political, social, and moral meaning of the Mexican Revolution." As far as PRI members are concerned, "the principles of revolutionaries are alive, and our strength lies in them."

He then gave a rundown of PRI's present status, explaining that there are signs on the national political scene that are urging his party to begin sweeping internal changes so that it can cope with the new social and economic situation in Mexico, in which a party system has developed with increasingly well defined, increasingly competitive options that are immersed in the tough process of learning how to handle plurality and negotiation.

After this political analysis he set forth his proposals and charted a course for the reform of PRI "that PRI members have demanded and decided on."

Before this, however, he scored the party's recent past. "Our continued presence in power entails the risk of forgetting society. Let us accept that on occasions we have not encouraged its initiatives, above all in recent years, during the times of crisis that demanded great sacrifices from the majority of Mexicans, when we were not equal to the demands of society."

We now want to return to society. We do not seek to supplant it, nor do we aspire to be its sole spokesman, but rather its finest representative. "We will be the party of society and to this end we will reform ourselves."

"PRI will have to meet four great challenges to be the party of society," Colosio said.

First, the challenge of the party's political position, which has become vague and uncertain under the new conditions. "We became the voice of the government and now we want to be the voice of society in government actions."

There is also the challenge of political representation, since PRI's ability to represent the interests of workers, peasants, and the working classes effectively and clearly has weakened.

Another challenge is to overcome the organization's inertia, because by being the ruling party "we grew lethargic and lost competitiveness."

"Fourth, the party's image, which has deteriorated over time, will have to be bolstered. We must acknowledge our mistakes and weaknesses, and the obsolescence of our patterns of political communication. To surmount this obstacle we will have to put an end to party arrogance, manipulation, and corruption," stated the president of the party's National Executive Committee.

He then outlined a plan of action for the party's national duty to reform, which will have to come before the National Assembly next March.

As the first item for discussion by the 14th Assembly he suggested an exhaustive and critical review of the basic documents, underscoring that the essence and value of his party's principles "are not up for discussion. Only anachronisms will be modified."

In conclusion, he proposed some strategies for party reform to the session of the National Council, which the PRI leader in the Chamber of Deputies, Guillermo Jimenez Morales, opened in the morning and the president of the Senate, Emilio M. Gonzalez, adjourned after 4 hours of debate on the annual report of activities.

In summary, the strategy is to develop a new PRI organization that will eradicate bureaucracy and prevent the spread of unproductive structures. He made it clear, however, that "we are a national party, not 32 local parties."

PRI's position vis-a-vis other parties must also be sharply defined in order to establish a clear-cut policy on alliances.

PRI must develop a strategy for its international relations. In Colosio's opinion, in light of the new balance of power in the world "our natural space for cooperation and solidarity is Latin America and the Caribbean, for historical, political, and economic reasons."

In dealing with the United States, he said, "we must always consider how best to satisfy our own interests, without myths or complexes, but without concessions, either."

New Language, Austere Campaigns

He stated that the party would have to alter its political language because society is demanding cogent, committed, and above all truthful language, adding that the party's campaigns to publicize its ideology and to promote itself, as well as its election campaigns, would have to be more austere, without ostentation or waste. They will be campaigns of direct dialogue, he clarified.

During the party's fourth stage, which President Salinas de Gortari and party leader Luis Donaldo Colosio proposed during the Special National Council meeting last March in Queretaro, the ruling party, which celebrated its 60th anniversary in 1989, will have to reform itself in depth and become a new party in order to maintain political supremacy. This, Colosio said, is not a goal prompted by an obsession with power; it is in keeping with the mandates of the Mexican Revolution.

To remain in power PRI will also prepare itself to run more effectively in future elections. Colosio proposed looking into the creation of a National Electoral Council

in the party and, as an up-to-date tactic, beginning true political planning extending into municipalities, states, and party sectors.

The challenge, he said in conclusion, "is to have the courage, the talent, and the vision to head the new culture and the new political task."

* State Political Infighting Described

90EM0054A Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 680 13 Nov 89 pp 29-31

[Article by Elias Chavez]

[Text] Toluca—In their thirst for revenge the Atlacomulco Group and its boss, Carlos Hank Gonzalez, even drink the blood of their enemies.

They cut the political head off the Mexico Valley Group and began a witch hunt to strengthen a new political group: the Toluca Group headed by Governor Ignacio Pichardo Pagaza and the fledgling forces of Chorizo Power.

The battle for revenge among factions of the PRI snuffed out the career of Agustin Lenero Bores. Until Saturday the fourth, Lenero was mayor of Naucalpan, the nation's most economically important municipality and a city with a bigger budget than many states.

The Mexico Valley Group was the creation of Alfredo del Mazo, the frustrated presidential hopeful who is now Mexico's ambassador to Belgium. He formed the group while he was governor of the state of Mexico to help free himself from domination by the Atlacomulco Group, which his father—also named Alfredo—once controlled. For the past 20 years, however, its undisputed boss has been Carlos Hank Gonzalez.

Del Mazo didn't just liberate himself from the Atlacomulco Group. He also did battle with it. Among the victims was Pichardo Pagaza, who had apired to rule his native state since 1975. In 1981, Pichardo set out once again to win the governorship. However, Del Mazo blocked his way, and with help from Jose Ramon Lopez Portillo, Alejandro Carrillo Castro and then PRI chairman Gustavo Carvajal, Del Mazo came out on top.

As controller general of the Republic, Pichardo again entered the fray for the governorship in 1987. This time he lost out to President Miguel de la Madrid's friend Mario Ramon Beteta. Meanwhile, Del Mazo lost his bid for the presidency and was sent off to Belgium, leaving Agustin Lenero Bores as head of the Mexico Valley Group.

Last year PRI and its presidential candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, suffered one of their worst setbacks in the state of Mexico. Salinas came in third behind Cuauhtemoc Cardenas and Manuel J. Clouthier. In Naucalpan, where Agustin Lenero Bores—Alfredo del Mazo's political heir—was mayor, only one in every four votes went to the PRI.

This affront could not go unpunished.

First, Governor Mario Ramon Beteta was toppled 2 months ago. Pichardo Pagaza, a distinguished member of the Atlacomulco Group since his days as interior secretary under Hank Gonzalez (1969-1975), replaced him.

The new governor's main job was—as Pichardo himself said upon taking over—"to foment political unity" and win the state back for the PRI.

Pichardo Pagaza started to form his own political group, the Toluca Group, and unsullied localism spurred the Toluca native to pick a working team that was almost pure Tolucan.

The secretary of urban development, Juan Carlos Padilla Aguilar; of agricultural development, Fernando Ordorica Perez; of economic development, Sergio Velazco Sanchez; of education, Jaime Almazan Delgado; of finance, Jose Merino Manon; and secretary of the comptrollership, Jorge Lopez Ochoa, were all Tolucans.

His personal secretary, German Garciamoreno Beltran, his assistant secretary, Julian Salazar Medina, and his administrative secretary, Enrique Gonzalez Isunza, were all dyed-in-the-wool Tolucans.

Interior Secretary Humberto Lira Mora, Attorney General Humberto Benitez Trevino, and Labor Secretary Luis Rivera Montes de Oca adopted the hues of Tolucans as protective coloring.

Other Tolucans included: Fernando Limon Meraz, director of personnel; Raul Martinez Almazan, municipal support coordinator; Gustavo Barrera Echeverri of the State of Mexico Health Institute; Jorge Hernandez, director of the Social Security Institute; Roberto Gomez Collado, interior secretary; Enrique Collado Lopez, head of the state-run enterprise Protimbos; and Victor Mulhia Melo, head of the Land Use Regulation Commission.

Lack of space prevents a full listing of Tolucans holding middle level posts as stalwart "chorizocrats." Chorizo Power gives short shrift to those with relatives in high places. Agustin Caso Rafhael, director of Auris and nephew of Communications Secretary Andres Caso Lombardo was replaced by a Tolucan, Carlos Gabriel Andrade.

Naturally, no one from the Mexico Valley Group got the call to serve in the Pichardo administration. And even the PRI was overrun by Tolucans.

The party chairmanship went to Juan Monroy Perez, a Tolucan at heart if not by birth. The ex-gubernatorial hopeful and former mayor of Naucalpan grew up in Toluca. Organization Secretary Jose Luis Garcia Garcia, Chief of Staff Carlos Mercado, Electoral Action Secretary Gabriel Ezeta, and Monroy's secretary, Arturo Montiel, are Tolucans to the bone.

Taking a stand against the Tolucans was the Revolutionary Youth Front (FJR).

On 14 October, the FJR gathered to elect new state leaders. Tolucans took over the chairmanship (Franco Ulises Flores) and almost all other posts. This sparked protest from the youth of Ecatepec, Tlalnepantla, and Naucalpan. "An exclusively Tolucan leadership is being forced on us," said Jose Luis Martinez, the FJR leader from Ecatepec. Felix Guillen of Tlalnepantla accused the Tolucans of paying no attention to "the issue of representation from the other municipalities."

In a further bid to foment "political unity," Toluca police took over Naucalpan City Hall on Saturday the fourth and proceeded to disarm that city's police. Then, according to Javier Paz Zarza, state leader of the National Action Party [PAN], the city council met. Its three opposition members failed to attend because by the time they were notified of the session it was about to begin.

Unhindered by members of the opposition, the PRI councilors held what Paz Zarza termed an illegal meeting. By law, he said, the senior councilor is supposed to preside in the mayor's absence; although Paz said he had no legal power to do so, Interior Secretary Humberto Lira Mora ran the show. And the Toluca-Atlacomulco Group staged a "Saturday purge" of Mayor Agustin Lenero Bores. His request for "indefinite leave," which he made "for strictly personal reasons," was granted.

"We're not defending Lenero Bores," the PAN leader said. "What we're defending is municipal sovereignty." Lenero could be corrupt, he added. The ex-mayor owns a mansion in the Satelite area said to be worth 3.5 billion pesos, a sum he could not have raised from his salary at city hall. But the obvious cause of his downfall is the open struggle between the Atlacomulco-Toluca and Mexico Valley Groups.

Paz Zarza is sure the fall of Lenero Bores is also meant as a warning to other members of the Mexico Valley Group. Mayors mentioned in this regard were: Jose Salinas Navarro of Nezahualcoyotl, Rene Quintero of Atizapan, Axel Garcia of Cuautitlan Izcalli, Marina Fernandez of Coacalco, and Olegario Ramirez of Tlalnepantla.

After the "Saturday purge," Governor Pichardo Pagaza called an extraordinary session of the state Congress. The reason: to appoint as mayor of Naucalpan a nominee to be picked by the governor.

The session took place on Thursday the ninth. Deputy Jaciel Montoya of the PRT [Revolutionary Workers Party] declared: "The governor acted in authoritarian fashion in removing a mayor." Inocente Sanchez Cruz of the PPS [Popular Socialist Party] said: "The fall of Lenero Borges is the result of political pressure by Pichardo Pagaza and his group. The governor got rid of Lenero Bores the same way the federal chief executive got rid of Mario Ramon Beteta." Servando Banos Cortez of the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] said: "We demand that the PRI respect municipal sovereignty, that PRI internal struggles not undermine the institutions of the state of Mexico, and that the governor respect municipal administrations." Ricardo Perez Rivas of PAN said: "What's happening in the state of Mexico is that a new political group is pushing aside the one that used to wield power." Pointing to state government headquarters, Edelmira Gutierrez of PAN said: "The man who governs the state of Mexico does business from there, but the one who gives the orders is in Mexico City, in the Tourism Secretariat."

As proposed by Governor Pichardo, PRI majority leader Sixto Noguez asked the Congress to name Roberto Soto Prieto mayor of Naucalpan in place of Lenero. Soto is a distinguished member of the Atlacomulco group, and from 1979 to 1981 he served a prior term as mayor of Naucalpan.

* CCE Seen as Subservient to Government

90EM0051B Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 27 Nov 89 pp 1-A, 12-A

[Report by correspondent Jaime Contreras Salcedo]

[Text] Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, 26 Nov—The Business Coordinating Council (CCE) has become an anti-democratic group that supports the administration and acquiesces in decisions that suit government, and since it does not make the voice of the entire private sector heard, "it is being left behind by the rank and file and, unless it urgently rights its course, will inevitably disappear."

The above remark was made by the vice president of the Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce (Concanaco), Gerardo Garza Sada, who noted that fewer than 100 businessmen, grouped together in three institutions, make decisions on behalf of all industrialists, merchants, and service-providers throughout Mexico. "It is not possible for these 100 notables to block the entire business community," he noted.

Garza Sada, who is also a leader of the Council of Institutions of Nuevo Leon, complained that the recent "National Congress of Businessmen" was manipulated by a few individuals, "all the way from the invitations, the assignment of work committees, and the votes cast by each chamber to the very high cost per participant (750,000 pesos)." To illustrate his point that the CCE is a big "administration supporter," Garza Sada noted that in the case of the miscellaneous tax package bill, the private sector's leading organization leveled no strong criticism at the new fiscal policy....

Throughout the provinces, he asserted, there is major ferment because with just a superficial analysis "we have been able to verify that taxes hurt captive taxpayers the most and could promote the growth of the informal economy."

Garza Sada also expressed concern that ever since the administration signed the pact, it has unilaterally, without any consensus, increased the prices of the goods and services that it manufactures or distributes. In contrast, when the private sector has increased its prices, it has done so little by little, "and the position of the CCE has not been, shall we say, very felicitous."

Interviewed in his office in this city, the vice president of Concanaco saw a far from promising future for the CCE: "Some organizations could perhaps withdraw from it because their rank and file will order them to. It would lose coordination and, officially, representativeness."

Garza Sada noted that if such a development were to take place, the conditions would arise for "establishing true representation that would be in keeping with the philosophy and interests of the private sector and not just be a voice that echoes the administration's dictates."

Garza Sada recalled that the recent congress of businessmen stemmed from the dissatisfaction of many private groups from the provinces, "which do not feel properly represented." By the end of the meeting the only change was that there are now 70 members of the board instead of 15, "but the decisions are still made by 7 of them," he underscored.

The Monterrey businessman recalled that three institutions that the CCE includes (the Mexican Council of Businessmen, the Mexican Association of Brokerage Firms, and the Mexican Association of Insurance Institutions) represent specific firms, not businessmen, "and this is where things are poorly designed." He said that its fewer than 100 members cannot be allowed to block, in effect, the actions of the entire business community.

Garza Sada also mentioned that if the content of the miscellaneous tax package bill violates the constitution, "the CCE ought to file for writs of amparo; not only is it not doing so but it is not even protesting," he said.

"If this highest of councils comprises government advisory bodies and they are not being listened to, then the CCE has a moral obligation to withdraw from the pacts, which has never crossed its mind," he stated.

The Concanaco vice president forecast that if the CCE does not correct its policies, make changes, and pave the way for greater democratization, thus allowing people from around the Republic to become involved in decisionmaking, it would lose credibility and wind up vanishing.

Lastly, he indicated that this matter ought to be settled in a national businessmen's forum at which all members of this sector can speak out and vote, no matter how far away from the center they are, in order to reestablish coordination in an institution "that has today become a supporter of the administration."

El Salvador

Government, FMLN Announce Holiday Truces

PY2812002689 San Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 23 Dec 89 p 8

[Text] The Salvadoran people will enjoy a peaceful Christmas because the two parties in conflict have decided to make a gesture of goodwill after realizing that the recent outbreak of violence has only worsened the people's suffering.

President Alfredo Cristiani's government has announced that it will lift the "state of emergency" tomorrow so that the people can enjoy Christmas Eve. The measure will be reimplemented at 1100 on 25 December.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) at 0000 today declared a unilateral military truce that will last until 0000 on 3 January 1990.

Jose Francisco Guerrero, private secretary to the presidency, has confirmed that the government decision is an effort to fulfill the people's desire for peace. He pointed out that the government is considering similar measures for 31 December.

The decision was made 2 days ago during a Cabinet meeting at Government House.

The FMLN, in turn, has announced the decision by their leadership, which reads as follows:

"1. Taking into account the deep religious meaning that these festivities have for our people and the need to spend these holidays together with the family in an atmosphere of peace, cushioned from the effects of the war, we hereby decree a truce from 0000 on 23 December until 0000 on 3 January 1990.

"2. We appreciate the paternal feeling toward our people that moved the Mexican Government to urge the FMLN and Salvadoran Government to adopt a truce during these holidays and to resume dialogue, as well as the decisive support given to that request by OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares.

"3. We have resumed efforts to obtain and contribute to the mediation of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar with the purpose of resuming a real negotiation process to end the war.

"4. We have decided to carry out our unilateral decision to suspend offensive actions during this period despite the fact that the Army has clearly shown that it has not listened to the requests for a truce and that it does not care about our peoples' suffering.

"5. We consider it our moral duty during these days of universal meaning to denounce the inhuman attitude of the United States in taking advantage of these slower days to invade Panama.

"Therefore, we call upon the international community to demand that Bush's government cease fire, immediately withdraw its troops, and allow the Panamanian people to find their own solution to their political problems."

Rebels Said Not Keeping Truce

PY2712232889 San Salvador TCS Television in Spanish 1215 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report by Samuel Arias]

[Text] Major Mauricio Chavez Caceres, chief of the Press Committee of the Armed Forces [Coprefa], has reported that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] has not respected the self-imposed truce that was scheduled to last from 23 December to 2 January 1990. According to Chavez, six rebels and one soldier were killed in a clash in (Huizucar) on the day the truce allegedly began.

[Begin Chavez recording] The Armed Forces have not really believed in this truce, because violence and harassment are continuing in many towns.

A case in point occurred on 23 December in (El Concan) estate, (Huizucar) district, La Libertad Department. In a harassment action, six subversives and three [as heard] soldiers of the Bragamonte Battalion were killed. A Soviet-made MTK machine gun, an M-79 grenade launcher, a LAW rocket launcher, and (?other) war materiel were seized in this action. [end recording]

Chavez added that another two rebels were killed in Cabanas Department after an armed clash on Saturday.

Armed clashes have also occurred in La Union. A group of rebels attacked Armed Forces positions in Chalatenango yesterday with TNT sticks [bloques] and rifle fire. No casualties were reported.

Referring to the FMLN actions in La Libertad Department, Maj Chavez Caceres said that these rebel groups, with no military power, are bound to disappear.

[Begin Chavez recording] The rebel bands that have appeared here in La Libertad Department have developed over the past 2 or 3 months. This took place as they were preparing their unsuccessful final offensive. We believe that it will be difficult for the terrorists to survive in that area. Most of the people are busy with their work.

These rebel bands are perhaps dedicating themselves more to stealing cars, rustling cattle, destroying some factories, and threatening some people in Zaragoza. However, they do not stray from this modus operandi. Virtually no one is supporting or following them in that area. [end recording]

In conclusion, the military spokesman noted that the Armed Forces are continuing normal operations throughout the country and are still in a state of emergency.

New Weapon Supply Routes to FMLN Uncovered

PY2812011289 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 27 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Cuba has been using routes that begin in the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico to ship weapons to the terrorists of the FDR/FMLN [Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front].

This information was announced yesterday by military sources. They explained that this remote land route is being used as an alternative to previously used routes through Nicaragua that have been discovered by the military intelligence service.

U.S. officials in Washington discussed this subject and asserted that, in view of the considerable amount of weapons that have been confiscated in Honduras, Cuban leaders decided to ship the weapons via Mexico, apparently to take advantage of the Mexican authorities' sympathy and commitments to other communist groups operating there.

They said that all the Soviet-made materiel is taken to Cuba first and then to Mexico and El Salvador via Guatemala, apparently to support the terrorist offensive that started last 11 November, which resulted in a significant number of deaths and the destruction of many homes.

The same U.S. officials said that the leftist government of Nicaragua has been the target of international criticism for its open cooperation with the FDR/FMLN, especially regarding the supply of weapons brought from Cuba. The U.S. officials concluded by stating that the United States could lodge a formal protest with the Mexican Government if there are any officials involved with this weapons contraband.

Nicaragua

Defense Ministry Warns Against U.S. Invasion

PA2812002189 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2305 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry this afternoon urgently warned all of its military cadres to prepare for war and announced the possibility of an eventual U.S. invasion.

A communique broadcast urgently this afternoon also called for surveillance of all the opposition leaders. It summoned all state security members to closely watch the opposition leaders. All Nicaraguans who are members of reserve battalions have been gathered. Those who are members of the active military service and are currently serving in the military must also gather, and those who have been demobilized must present themselves at the military zones closest to them and remain alert.

The communique summons all members of the military counterinsurgency to keep watch over the political leaders who allegedly support a U.S. invasion. This could be interpreted as a direct death sentence against the opposition leaders.

Part of the communique states: The Sandinist government and military counterinsurgency bodies, in close cooperation with the organs of state security, must carry out the plan to neutralize, cut off, and execute all of the most recalcitrant turncoats who both openly and covertly have encouraged a Yankee invasion.

Government To Delay U.S. Embassy Supply Flights

PA2712134089 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1211 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Nicaraguan Government decided on 26 December to delay authorization for the landing of an aircraft carrying supplies to U.S. officials in Managua by 1 week, as long as actions continue against Nicaraguan citizens and interests in Panama City.

In a strong protest note, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto informed U.S. Secretary of State James Baker that authorization will be delayed 8 more days for every 24 hours that the arbitrary conditions persist against Nicaragua in Panama.

In other words, the aircraft that arrives monthly carrying supplies from Washington for U.S. Embassy officials, which was originally scheduled to arrive on 11 January, will not be able to land until 19 January, as a result of the strong protest note dated 26 December.

The document states that if the arbitrary action by the Yankee intervention troops persists against Nicaraguan citizens and interests in Panama until 27 December, the authorization for this aircraft to land will be delayed until 26 January, and successively 8 more days for every 24 hours that the situation persists.

The Nicaraguan attitude is prompted by the disrespect shown toward consular and diplomatic rules by the U.S. interventionist soldiers with their military siege against the Nicaraguan Embassy, which is a provoking and dangerous attitude in view of the circumstances.

In the protest note, D'Escoto also notes the death of Carlos Lopez Morales by shots fired by U.S. troops in the city of Colon. His family has not been able to repatriate his body for burial, as a result of the lack of sensitivity on the part of the invading forces. The foreign minister added that the U.S. military authorities in Panama are preventing the return of a Boeing-707 Aeronica flight which is in Panama and have damaged an AR-32 cargo plane. They are also obliging 175 Nicaraguans to remain in the bay of strife-torn Panama.

Communique on Reason for Delay

PA2712184689 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 27 Dec 89 p 5

[Communique issued by the Foreign Ministry in Managua on 26 December]

[Text] The Honorable James Baker III, U.S. Secretary of State.

Mr Secretary of State: First of all, I must reiterate the most unmistakable and categorical condemnation by the Nicaraguan Government and people of the armed attack and military intervention against the fraternal people of Panama, and over attempts by the invading forces to impose a government by force, in flagrant violation of the right of the Panamanian people to full self-determination, sovereignty, and national independence.

The particular purpose of this communication is to convey the strongest protest over the arbitrary actions carried out to the detriment of Nicaraguan citizens, our diplomatic mission, and Nicaraguan properties in Panama, as seen in the following points, among others:

1. The Nicaraguan diplomatic mission has been subject to military harassment in open violation of international law on diplomatic and consular matters. On 21 December, I conveyed to the U.S. charge d'affairs in Managua my government's concern over the provocative and dangerous attitude of the invading forces, which have continued their illegal action to circle the embassy, a situation aggravated by the overflights of military helicopters and the placement of concertina wire around the said mission.

2. The very day the intervention took place we were informed that your country's forces murdered Nicaraguan citizen Carlos Lopez Morales, in Colon City, Colon Province. His family's sorrow has been worsened because so far it has not been able to bury him, as a result of the insensitivity of the invading forces that are not allowing the remains to be returned to Nicaragua.

3. Similarly, the return to Nicaragua of an AERONICA Boeing-707 airplane has not been allowed.

4. As a result of the invasion, an AERONICA AN-32 cargo plane was damaged.

5. Your government has so far prevented the return to Nicaragua of over 165 Nicaraguans, who have been forced to remain against their will in invaded and strife-torn Panama, as is the case of the crew members of the mentioned airplanes, with all the perils entailed by this situation that are detrimental to the laws on civil aviation.

As a minimum measure to condemn the retention of the Nicaraguan airplane and crew, the Nicaraguan Government advises of its decision to delay for 1 week authorization for overflight and landing to the cargo airplane that comes monthly to Nicaragua with supplies for the U.S. Embassy in Managua.

According to the accustomed timetable, a request for the next entry would be made on 11 January. Under no circumstances will the Nicaraguan Government allow that airplane to arrive before 19 January.

If tomorrow, 27 December, the arbitrary attitude of not allowing the return of the airplane, its crew, and Nicaraguan citizens held against their will continues, the Nicaraguan Government will delay until 26 January the arrival of the U.S. airplane and so on.

I categorically reiterate that the U.S. Government is directly responsible for the consequences that stem from or may stem from its arbitrary, illegal, and unjustified action to the detriment of Nicaraguan citizens, our diplomatic mission, and Nicaraguan properties.

Sincerely,
Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman.

Antiaircraft Forces Fire at Unidentified Planes

PA2712132689 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1210 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Last night, Nicaraguan antiaircraft forces fired various warning shots at two unidentified planes that entered Managua airspace illegally.

Neither of the two planes, one coming from the north and the other from Masaya in the east, responded to calls from the Augusto C. Sandino International Airport control tower.

Neither of the two planes reported to the Sandinist Air Force authorities, but disappeared in an unknown direction after the antiaircraft forces fired at them.

The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry hereby explains the presence of the two unidentified planes to the residents of eastern Managua, who were apparently frightened by the shooting last night.

Official on Airspace Violation

PA2712193889 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1830 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Managua, 27 Dec (DPA)—Major General Joaquin Cuadra, vice defense minister, today said that two subsonic planes that flew near to the Managua Airport in violation of national airspace during the evening of 26 December could be from the United States or Honduras.

Cuadra told the press in Managua that the antiaerial radar defense system detected the planes as they were entering Nicaragua's airspace from Honduras at a speed of 800 km per hour.

The Nicaraguan military leader did not specify the flags under which they fly, but said that Honduran planes systematically violate Nicaraguan airspace. Cuadra did not rule out that the planes could have come from El Salvador.

The Nicaraguan antiaerial defense fired 20 times at the two planes as they approached Managua's Augusto Cesar Sandino Airport at 2127 after the pilots of the intruding planes failed to heed the control tower's instructions to identify themselves. The shots did not hit the planes, but they immediately left Nicaragua toward Honduras.

Maj Gen Cuadra expressed his approval of President Daniel Ortega's decision to maintain the Nicaraguan Armed Forces on alert after the U.S. troops invaded Panama.

The United States has maintained strong military pressure against the Nicaraguan revolutionary regime for more than 8 years and involved the CIA in several covert actions that resulted in a condemnation against the United States at the International Court in The Hague stemming from a suit filed by that Central American nation.

Cuadra said that antiaerial mechanisms were activated near the Managua Airport because the Sandinist Air Force has no planes capable of intercepting national airspace violators.

Panama

Tribunal Acts To Ratify 7 May Elections

Documents Drafted

PA2712163689 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 1526 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report by Juan Barrera Salamanca]

[Text] We have personally talked with some of our friends, who provide us with information at Panamanian President Guillermo Endara's offices. They have told us that two former—or still current, because they have not yet been replaced—Panamanian Electoral Tribunal magistrates and an Electoral Tribunal legal adviser have arrived at President Endara's office to try to finish a couple of documents, including a declaration stating that the 7 May elections were perfectly constitutional, valid, and legal, thus replacing the document that annulled the said elections. The declaration abolishes the decree that annulled the 7 May elections. The decree, which the Electoral Tribunal issued with full authorization from the government, will be abolished. The new declaration is signed by two Electoral tribunal magistrates.

The second document is the official recognition of Guillermo Endara Galimany, Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Guillermo Ford as the official winners of the 7 May elections. Long live Panama. [applause]

Endara Proclaimed President

PA2712172589 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1652 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City, 27 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—The Panamanian Electoral Tribunal today proclaimed Guillermo Endara the "constitutional president of the Republic of Panama" after validating the 7 May elections, which had been annulled by the previous government.

An Electoral Tribunal official read Decree 502 declaring President Endara, First Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Second Vice President Guillermo Ford, as official winners of the 7 May elections.

The decree is signed by Electoral Tribunal President Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez, who also signed the annulment of the 7 May elections.

Endara, who was wearing the tricolor presidential sash, Arias Calderon, and Ford attended the ceremony held at the Foreign Ministry, which is the provisional government's headquarters.

The building was surrounded by U.S. soldiers in combat gear and by U.S. military vehicles, which have blocked several streets leading to the Foreign Ministry with barbed wire.

Electoral Tribunal Resolution

PA2812021189 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2312 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Resolution 502 issued by the Panamanian Electoral Tribunal in Panama City on 27 December—read by Electoral Tribunal Secretary Carlos Bonilla]

[Text] Republic of Panama, Electoral Tribunal Resolution 502 of 27 December 1989, which validates the swearing-in ceremony and proclaims the elected candidates in the positions of president and vice presidents of the Republic for the 7 May 1989 elections.

The Electoral Tribunal, exercising its constitutional and legal powers, considering:

That through a decree issued on this same date, this tribunal has ordered the revocation of Decree No. 58 of 10 May 1989, which annulled the elections of 7 May of the same year;

That the Metropolitan Curia has placed at the disposal of this Tribunal copies of the voting records for the election of president and vice presidents of the Republic;

That said documents have been duly evaluated and audited by a commission appointed by the Tribunal made up of citizens Dr. Carlos Rangel M., constitutional adviser of the Electoral Tribunal; Carlos A. Bonilla E., secretary general of the Electoral Tribunal; and certified public accountants [CPA] Ezequiel Villarreal, with CPA license no. 288, and Angela Maria Godoy C., with CPA license no. 437; who have presented the following report:

Panama, 26 December 1989. Mssrs. Magistrates of the Electoral Tribunal, Panama City.

Mssrs. Magistrates:

In line with the instructions imparted to us by the tribunal in plenum, it is our pleasure to tell you that after a recount and audit of the copies of voting records for the positions of president and first and second vice presidents of the republic, we obtained the following results:

Voting tables counted: 3,536, representing 83.1 percent, with 719 tables or 16.9 percent remaining. Number of voters: 757,797, representing 64 percent.

Results by presidential ticket:

ADOC [Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance]: 473,838 or 62.5 percent.

COLINA [National Liberation Coalition]: 188,914 or 24.9 percent

Panamenist Party: 2,822 or 0.4 percent.

Null or blank votes: 92,223 or 12.2 percent

Total votes: 757,797 or 100 percent.

Yours truly,

[Signed] Dr. Carlos Rangel, constitutional adviser of the Electoral Tribunal; Carlos A. Bonilla, secretary general of the Electoral Tribunal; Ezequiel Villarreal, CPA license no. 288; and Angela Maria Godoy C., CPA license no. 437;

That in the absence of a proclamation that should have been issued by the National Vote Count Board, and of original records that should have been sent to the Tribunal by electoral bodies, this institution is obliged to follow precedents established in similar cases, such as the presidential and vice presidential elections of 1984;

That in line with a constitutional provision, the candidates of the winning ticket were already sworn in on 19 December, a formality that does not preclude a subsequent proclamation of the winning candidates;

That most of the votes cast for the winning ticket were corroborated by the vote records placed at the disposal of the Electoral Tribunal by the Metropolitan Curia, after an examination carried out by the commission appointed for that purpose, whose report has been included herein:

Resolves:

To proclaim the following citizens as the winners in the following posts:

President of the Republic: Guillermo Endara Galimany

1st Vice President: Dr. Ricardo Arias Calderon

2nd Vice President: Guillermo Ford Boyd

Issued in Panama City, on 27 December 1989.

To be enforced.

[Signed] Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez, magistrate president

Luis Carlos Chen, magistrate vice president

Manuel A. Icaza, magistrate

Carlos A. Bonilla G., secretary general

Endara Views Current Issues in News Conference

PA2712191889 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 1708 GMT 27 Dec 89

[News conference held by President Guillermo Endara with local and foreign reporters at the Foreign Ministry on 27 December—recorded]

[Text] [Endara] Panama, our entire country, and the president and vice presidents thank the Electoral Tribunal for this patriotic action [the proclamation of Guillermo Endara, Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Guillermo Ford as winners of the 7 May elections], which rectifies some past mistakes. We hope this action represents the beginning of a new era of democracy, justice, and freedom, for which all Panamanians were longing.

The president and the two vice presidents will stay here with you. This was only a ceremony in which the Electoral Tribunal officials were going to present us with a resolution. It is a protocol ceremony. The Electoral Tribunal officials were not going to answer any questions from the press. We, the president and the two vice presidents, will answer your questions. Thank you. We are ready to answer your questions.

This official document proves the true will that the Panamanian people expressed on 7 May. We will answer some of your questions. In view of the large number of reporters gathered here, I request that you to ask brief questions. We will try to give you short answers. The gentleman who is up there with his hand raised please go ahead.

[Reporter] Mr. President, the members of the Electoral Tribunal [words indistinct].

[Endara] They have not said anything to us. There has not been any type of previous commitment or conversation of any kind.

[Reporter] Did the Electoral Tribunal magistrates voluntarily proclaim you president of Panama?

[Endara] Absolutely. They did it voluntarily.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] about Noriega? [Words indistinct].

[Endara] I heard something about General Noriega, but I did not hear the rest of your question?

[Reporter] What is the situation of the negotiations with regard [word indistinct] at this moment?

[Endara] We are not conducting any kind of negotiation [word indistinct]. We do not believe Gen. Noriega is worthy of being granted political asylum. He has committed common crimes of the worst kind. We believe the Nunciature should soon ask that criminal to leave the Nunciature's premises.

[Reporter [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] I will tell the people the following, since you seem to be so interested in this. We believe that Gen. Noriega's crimes are not political crimes. He is a common criminal of the worst kind. He has been accused or [word indistinct] accused of homicide, drug trafficking, and other very horrendous crimes. We feel that in the near future the papal nuncio should ask the [word indistinct] of Noreiga to leave the Nunciature.

[Reporter] What response have you received from the Vatican?

[Endara] Excuse me?

[Reporter] What is the Vatican's position concerning this?

[Endara] We have not talked with the Vatican. We held informal talks with the Vatican's representative here, Monsignor Laboa.

[Reporter] Is he willing to turn Noriega over to the Panamanian Government?

[Endara] He did not mention any of that. The nuncio only said that Noriega is in his house and that he has not yet described Noriega's staying in his house as any kind of special refuge.

[Reporter] Since Panama does not have an extradition law, is your government willing to put Noriega on trial and to imprison him in Panama?

[Endara] Regarding the extradition law, we must tell you that there was a treaty signed in 1904. We have not had the opportunity to look into that treaty yet. We will look into the treaty, because it is mentioned as a possibility of extradition. We do not really have any particular interest. We just want Noriega to come out of the nunciature. We will see what [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] No, we are [words indistinct] at the nunciature, that is the way [word indistinct] at the nuncio's house on Balboa Avenue [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] I am not [words indistinct] at the nunciature. We are very [words indistinct] Noriega to leave the nunciature. That [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] No, there is no negotiation as far as Panama is concerned. I do not know of any other negotiation.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] We have not talked to the Vatican.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Endara, in English] [Words indistinct] trial for crimes [words indistinct], and at this moment we are not thinking of [words indistinct] to come out of the Nunciature. When he comes out, then we will see what will happen.

[Reporter, in English] There is some speculation that the 1904 treaty [word indistinct] permits you to surrender him to the United States. Is that right?

[Endara, in English] I have not seen the 1904 treaty. I [words indistinct] the last time and at that moment I did not have time to read the 1904 treaty. The existence of that treaty came as a surprise to me. [passage indistinct]

[Reporter] Concerning the legislators, how will they be proclaimed, especially those [words indistinct]?

[Endara] We still do not have a complete answer regarding the role of the legislators. I can only say this. The people's will on 7 May was not only expressed at the presidential and vice presidential level, but also at the level of legislators. When we asked for respect of the people's will, it was not only for us. That would be very egotistical, to refer only to us. We must also think of the legislators. The people's will will also be respected in that aspect. We will soon make an announcement concerning the legislators.

[Reporter] Will normal relations continue to be maintained with Cuba and Nicaragua?

[Endara] Pardon me?

[Reporter] Will Panama continue to maintain relations with Cuba and Nicaragua?

[Endara] We have not even considered the matter. Up to now the situation remains unchanged.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] on the 19th, together with the two vice presidents?

[Endara] What did you say about the 19th?

[Reporter] Did I hear incorrectly, or did you say that you were sworn in on the 19th?

[Endara] You must have heard incorrectly, because we were sworn in on the 20th.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what were the circumstances?

[Endara] We were sworn in in a residence in Panama. We cannot say where it was, because we committed ourselves not to, but it was in Panama City, before two

witnesses—the president and the secretary general of the Panamanian Human Rights Committee.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how will you maintain your independence from the gringos?

[Endara] We will maintain our independence. The gringos, as you say and as we call them in a friendly manner, [laughs] do not seek to have our independence and we do not intend to relinquish it either.

[Reporter] You have pledged to have a government of conciliation and [passage indistinct].

Decree Suspends Judicial Operations for 7 Days

PA2712161089 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 1524 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Decree issued by the executive branch in Panama City on 26 December]

[Text] Using its constitutional and legal powers, the Panamanian executive branch, whereas:

1. The operations of the Panamanian judicial branch were suspended for over 3 days because of reasons beyond our control;

2. The Palace of Justice has suffered extensive property damage that prevents the normal operations of the judicial branch;

3. The state must adopt special measures to restore the adequate operations of the judicial branch;

4. According to Article 502 of the judicial code, the judicial branch operations must be suspended when for any reasons, the court offices are not opened, decrees:

The suspension of operations of the judicial branch and all judicial organizations during 7 working days beginning today, Tuesday 26 December.

Be it fulfilled and executed,

[Signed] Government and Justice Minister Ricardo Arias Calderon

[Signed] President Guillermo Endara

Reconstruction Begins; Some Leave Nunciature

PA2712162589 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1521 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City, 27 Dec (DPA)—The U.S. Army has recently stepped up its efforts to find weapons caches that may be located in private homes and other sites in and around Panama City. Yesterday, U.S. troops conducted a house by house search in sectors of Panama City, seeking weapons, and arrested several persons, including Vicky Amado, mistress of former strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Meanwhile, Panama City has begun its reconstruction as businessmen and their employees are involved in clean up operations. Moreover, the Panamanian Chamber of Commerce is conducting a survey with its members to reach an estimate on the losses caused by looting during the days following the U.S. invasion on 20 December. The normalization of the news media can also be seen. Today, Panama's oldest newspaper LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA was published, and two television stations are broadcasting as usual.

As was learned today, the movement reported last night at the Nunciature was caused when 32 civilian "friends" of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who took refuge in that mission, left that building. Among those leaving are Jaime Simmons, former manager of the state's Savings Bank, his wife and two children.

Staying at the Nunciature along with Noriega are his bodyguards, Capt. Jorge Gaytan, Col. Nivaldo Madrinan, and Col. Teodoro Alexander; former Immigration Department Chief Belgica Castillo; Noriega's godson Carlos Castillo; and Francisco Sanchez, former Social Security Fund director.

Castrejon Leaves Nunciature, Taken to U.S. Base

PA2712215989 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2117 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City 27 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—Lieutenant Colonel Arnulfo Castrejon, former chief of the National Guard Marine Section, today left the Apostolic Nunciature where he had sought refuge with other persons, including General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who remains at the nunciature.

Castrejon left at approximately 1200 following an agreement between Apostolic Nuncio Jose Sebastian Laboa and U.S. Army South Commander General Marc Cisneros. Castrejon was taken to a U.S. military base.

Major Santiago Fundora participated in the negotiations to get Castrejon out of the Nunciature. Fundora was arrested by Noriega in March 1988 and is a blood relative of Castrejon several times removed.

In addition to Noriega, still remaining at the nunciature are: Lieutenant Colonel Nivaldo Madrinan, former chief of the National Department of Investigations (DENI), and Captain Elieser Gaitan, chief of Noriega's security.

Also at the nunciature are former Immigration Director Belgica de Castillo, her husband, four Spaniards who are members of the terrorist ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Organization] organization, the wife of one of them, and a Cuban citizen.

The Apostolic Nunciature is surrounded by U.S. soldiers and armored personnel carriers are deployed around the area to prevent Noriega's escape.

Several Officials Hiding in Nunciature

PA2712221089 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 2125 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Reliable sources have reported to Circuito RPC that, in addition to Manuel Antonio Noriega, the persons who hid at the Apostolic Nunciature include Nivaldo Madrinan, former director of the National Department of Investigation; Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez, president of the Electoral Tribunal; Marisol Reyes de Vasquez, president of the Supreme Court of Justice; Belgica de Castillo, director of immigration; and Virgilio Ramos, former director general of customs.

Meanwhile, it was reported that former President Francisco Rodriguez has sought shelter in a European embassy; it is rumored that it might be the Spanish Embassy.

Former President Rodriguez Not To Seek Asylum

PA2712234489 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 2239 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Exclusive" telephone interview with Francisco Rodriguez by Julio Miller on 27 December, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Miller] Hello, who is speaking? Hello. It is a pleasure to greet you [word indistinct].

[Rodriguez] Thank you. I have already seen you on television.

[Miller] [Words indistinct].

[Rodriguez] I sent you a document, a note, a statement. Have you received it?

[Miller] Please speak up.

[Rodriguez] Hello.

[Miller] Speak up.

[Rodriguez] Hello. I am calling on all the Panamanian people to conduct themseleves well and to protect integrity and peace in the country.

[Miller] Yes, I hear you.

[Rodriguez] Hello. I think that we must put a stop to this and try to rebuild the country. We must set aside private interests and maintain and protect our identity as a country. We must attempt to achieve reconciliation and try to heal wounds. We must rebuild the country. That is essential. We must all struggle to do this.

[Miller] [Question indistinct].

[Rodriguez continues] That is something for the diplomatic authorities. I believe they will have to solve this.

[Station announcer] This is an interview with Francisco Rodriguez, former provisional president of Panama, by Julio Miller.

[Rodriguez, in progress] ...that I have sent and included in that statement, I believe that at this time this is essential, it is fundamental. I am doing this as a Panamanian who wants this country to reemerge and wants all wounds to be healed—that the so much desired reconciliation in the country be achieved.

[Miller] Mr. Rodriguez, are you considering the possibility of seeking asylum? Do you think General Noriega should be tried here or in the United States?

[Rodriguez] Mr. Miller, I called you to tell you that I released that statement; I do not want to comment on the things you are asking because they are being handled by the appropriate authorities.

[Station announcer] RPC listeners, this recording has not been edited.

[Miller] Any comments?

[Rodriguez] I do not want to. I appeal for a national reconciliation. I think we should all set aside any attitude not aimed at this purpose and goal. I believe...

[Station announcer] This is an interview with Francisco Rodriguez by Julio Miller.

[Miller] Do you recognize President Endara's new government?

[Rodriguez] In my statement, I stated that if he has been officially recognized by the appropriate authorities then there is no doubt regarding this. If the appropriate authorities, in this case the Electoral Tribunal, have officially recognized him, I believe that is enough for everyone to know that this is the way it is.

I have not considered asking for political asylum. In my communique, I said that, in a responsible manner, I will submit my past as a government employee, especially as provisional president of the Republic, an office to which I was appointed in the hopes of achieving a purpose and goal. I will submit to trial my actions as a public servant. I did my best to achieve reconciliation among the Panamanian people. My conduct and actions always followed the achievement of this goal. I have no fear of putting my past or present actions on trial. Obviously, the authorities know where I have been from the very beginning. I have been here simply for security reasons, to protect my family, in light of the heated passions. However, at no moment have I thought of requesting asylum because there is no reason to do so.

[Miller] Will you remain in the country?

[Rodriguez] I am planning to. If my work permits it, yes, I will remain in the country.

[Miller] [Question indistinct].

[Rodriguez] No, I am alone.

[Miller] Thank you.

[Rodriguez] You are welcome.

Former Minister Kam Arrested; Others Captured

PA2712214489 Paris AFP in Spanish 2050 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City, 27 Dec (AFP)—Leonardo Kam, foreign minister of General Manuel Antonio Noriega's overthrown regime, was captured today in Panama City by U.S. soldiers. This was reported by a witness of the capture.

Kam, who assumed the office of foreign minister 3 months ago, was handcuffed and led away in a military vehicle to Rodman Naval Base, approximately 13 km west of Panama City, where the U.S. troops are holding approximately 4,000 Noriega supporters and soldiers.

Former Attorney General Carlos Villalaz, Former Comptroller General Nander Pitti, Former Commerce Minister Mario Rognoni, and Former Finance Minister Orville Goodin, have been captured since the U.S. Army intervened in Panama a week ago.

Likewise, Ruben Murgas, Radio Nacional director; Baltazar Aizpurua, secretary general of the Journalists Union of Panama; Euclides Fuentes, deputy secretary general of the Journalists Union of Panama; Rafael Mezquitas, ministerial adviser; Ricardo Levy, general director of revenues; and Rigoberto Paredes, former Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) legislator, have also been captured.

The PRD headquarters in Panama City was raided and occupied by U.S. troops, and the museum home of the late General Omar Torrijos Herrera was totally destroyed, even though the new government offered freedom of participation for all the politicial parties that defended the former regime, including the PRD.

Former Legislator Paredes Turned Over to U.S.

PA2712174589 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 1450 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report by Ruben Dario Bocci from Arraijan District]

[Text] We are here in Arraijan, where we have gotten a firsthand report of the surrender of Professor Rigoberto Paredes, former strongman and friend of Noriega, that is, the strongman here for the elections in Arraijan District. He surrendered himself, starving, to the Chapala inhabitants, who guarded him until U.S. liberation forces arrived.

On the farm owned by this, quote, humble, unquote, politician there were other small homes to lodge workers, a print shop, a bakery, an artificial lake, a pigpen, a horse breeding farm, a poultry farm, and enormous refrigerators filled with turkeys and hams. Remember that Mr. Rigoberto Paredes used to say on the radio that the people were starving because of the crisis and that Panamanians deserved to have at least a chicken for Christmas. Well, he had enormous refrigerators filled with turkeys and hams. He also had a greenhouse filled with really precious plants and, as if this were not enough, he had a private park.

Among other things found in the home of the former strongman and terrorizer of democratic men here in Arraijan was a large amount of costly gifts that were ready to be sent, as well as cash. A lady found a large amount of $100 dollar bills, an abandoned wallet, a lot of air-conditioned rooms, and Mercedes vehicles—seized by the first persons who arrived—a van, and other types of vehicles. This is the situation here.

The Arraijan inhabitants are happy to see that the improper Rigoberto Paredes surrendered himself 2 days ago to Chapala inhabitants, who tied him up and later turned him over to the U.S. authorities. The U.S. authorities then allowed the people to keep the turkeys, hams, and other things, as a token of Rigoberto Paredes, the former strongman here in Arraijan.

Endara Appoints More New Government Officials

PA2812000089 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 1717 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Statement by Presidency Spokesman Anel Beliz at the Foreign Ministry in Panama City on 27 December—recorded]

[Text] President Guillermo Endara has authorized me to give you the following information.

President Endara appointed Jorge E. Endara Paniza as the director of the Panamanian Social Security Institute. Mr. Endara Paniza is a well-known and respected Panamanian businessmen.

In addition, President Endara appointed the first three deputy ministers. Miguel Batista Guerra is the new deputy presidency minister; Ramon Lima is the new deputy government and justice minister; and economist Jose Galan is the new deputy planning and economic policy minister. These three gentlemen are well-known Panamanian professionals.

Arias Announces New Governors, Status of Media

PA2712143989 Panama City Radio Guadalupe in Spanish 1218 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Ricardo Arias Calderon, vice president and government and justice minister, has announced the appointment of new governors in the Republic and the status of the news media:

[Begin Arias recording, in progress] ...advises the public that public offices will operate normally in the following provinces, with prior authorization of the respective recently appointed governors:

In Bocas del Toro, with prior authorization of David Sanchez, new governor of that province;

In Cocle, with prior authorization of Dr. Gabriel Arosemena, new governor of that province;

In Colon, with prior authorization of Leopoldo Benedetti, new governor of that province;

In Chiriqui, with prior authorization of Dr. Edgar De Puy, new governor of that province;

In Darien, with prior authorization of Norberto Castillo, new governor of that province;

In Herrera, with prior authorization of David Solis, new governor of that province;

In Los Santos, with prior authorization of Dr. Miguel Cardenas, new governor of that province; and

In Veraguas, with prior authorization of Hermel Rodriguez, new governor of that province.

Also, the national government wishes to announce that in Panama Province, the new governor of which is Dr. Plutarco Arrocha, public offices will not be offering services to the public as yet. To the extent possible, considering the situation of personnel available and the situation of security in the respective urban area—considering those two circumstances—the public offices will dedicate themselves tomorrow to their internal reorganization under the new ministers. As soon as these public offices are able to attend to the public in general in the area of Panama Province, it will be announced for the welfare of the community.

In the case of the state radio station, it is not in a position as yet to resume operations, because of practical and security reasons.

In the case of TV-2 [Televisora Nacional] and TV-5 [Panama City Telecinco Television], both are under the jurisdiction and control of the national government, because of the irregularities that accompany the ownership of the television stations and as long as these irregularities are not duly cleared up.

Nonetheless, we will search for a way to gradually begin the operation of these two television stations, as I said, under the control of the national government, to provide work for the personnel who are employed there. [end recording]

Government Announces More New Appointments

PA2712145389 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 1300 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] We have a report that includes new appointments of government officials.

Jaime Ford Lara has been appointed as Colon Duty Free Zone general manager. Leopoldo Benedetti has been appointed new Colon Province governor.

The Supreme Court magistrates that must be appointed by the executive branch are: Magistrate Cesar Quintero, a university professor and dean; and Edgardo Molino Mola. In addition, Rodrigo Molina has been confirmed as Supreme Court magistrate.

The Panamanian Government decided to confirm Hugo Torrijos Richa as director of the General Consular and Ships Directorate. The current government does not consider the work of Hugo Torrijos to have been linked with the country's political situation.

In addition, DIMA [Metropolitan Sanitation Directorate] General Director Nilson Espino has been confirmed in his post. From the first day of the incidents, Espino voluntarily offered to cooperate with the current government without any personal interests, without aspiring to obtain any reward or post. He simply wanted to fulfill his responsibility as DIMA director. Espino is a Panamanian citizen who quickly understood that he owed himself to the homeland and immediately assumed his duties to clean the city.

TV Commentary Demands Decision from Nunciature

PA2812021289 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2354 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] At this moment, citizen Manuel Antonio Noriega is still at the Apostolic Nunciature. Meanwhile, the Panamanian people are anxiously waiting for him to face justice. All the country's civic, political, and cultural organizations have expressed their hopes to the nunciature that without further delay, Noriega will be handed over to the justice authorities. Even Monsignor Marcos Gregorio McGrath, the highest ranking Panamanian church authority, has publicly told the international press that he hopes that Noriega will be made to face his judges. The eyes of the world are on Panama awaiting the final chapter of the dictator's tyranny.

For the time being the Panamanian people have remained calm, thinking that it is not possible that someone who has done so much harm will remain unpunished. However, outbursts of effervescence are being noticed and spontaneous demonstrations around the Apostolic Nunciature are beginning to take place. As the hours go by and the heavy veil of censorhip imposed by the overthrown regime is lifted, the extent of the former dictatorship's evil is being made public. The man currently at the nunciature had mined our country with instruments of war and violence for Panamanians to kill Panamanians. The man currently at the nunciature only sought that refuge when the cordon was completely closed. He never cared that during the days that he was in hiding, his hordes of armed savages destroyed the city and its economy. The man currently at the nunciature wanted to turn our small country into an international center for terrorism, with himself at the head. The man currently at the nunciature, the house of God, sought through the practice of satanism to achieve his purposes. The man currently at the nunciature is the one responsible for all the grief, tears, and sorrow that for a long

time reigned in many Christian homes, the homes of innocent Panamanian families. The former dictator must answer for all this, and this must be understood by the nuncio and the representative of the Holy See, who are delaying presenting Noriega to his judges. This delay can unleash passions, something no one wants but something that in the long run, no one will be able to stop. The nunciature must know that peoples who have been subjected to heartless dictatorships, like the Noriega dictatorship, do not forgive and never stop demanding justice. The nunciature must remember that only 2 days ago, one of the cruelest dictators in Europe was executed by his people. The nunciature has the sacred duty to prevent something like this from happening in Panama, a country that is already tired of so much bloodshed and violence.

LA ESTRELLA Editorial Calls for Unity

PA2712141489 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 27 Dec 89 pp A1, A4

[Editorial: "National Reconstruction and Reconciliation"]

[Text] Since early Wednesday morning a number of acts of violence, of a magnitude never before seen in this country, have taken place throughout the national territory, particularly in the cities of Panama and Colon. As a result of these events, a new government has erupted on the political scene, directed by the three citizens who were on the presidential slate of the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance during the past elections: Guillermo Endara, Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Guillermo Ford.

The Republic and its citizens have experienced the most trying times in our history. Everything has been lost and destroyed. The acts of vandalism, pillaging, and anarchy—taking advantage of the uncertainty that reigned at the time—have catapulted the nation into the most desperate economic situation it has ever experienced. During this brief period, virtually all Panamanians lost their civic spirit and moral principles, providing us with a bitter lesson, a bitter experience, that we can never and must never forget. The sacking and anarchy deserve the harshest censure and reproach, and demand serious reflection by all Panamanians regardless of their social level or political persuasion.

In the midst of the chaos we experienced for several days, we must, however, acknowledge the political reality of all that has occurred: Above all, the rise of a new government that, by its own acknowledgement, has the clear goal of seeking reconciliation and the rebuilding of the Republic. We are currently experiencing the most desperate social, moral, and economic situation in our history. The pillaging has completely exhausted all of our resources and paralyzed commercial and industrial activity in the country. Faced with this situation, all Panamanians have to support the new government in its task of democratizing the nation, uniting all citizens, ensuring respect for human rights, and promoting true freedom of expression.

Neither the government nor the Panamanian people should waste any time focusing on the negative events that motivated all that has transpired. Instead, they must devote all the initiative, intelligence, and energy at their disposal to pull the country out of the bottomless abyss into which it has fallen. We must take advantage of the popular support that surrounds the new government to try, all of us together, to first achieve the promised national reconciliation, so we may then secure the wheels of a seriously wounded republic on to the rails of reconstruction, harmony, and peace. We have to help our economy recover and quickly heal the deep wounds inflicted on Panama and its people, so we may devote ourselves fully and without regard for political persuasion to the task of normalizing a country that previously was the pride and joy of all of us who have had the good fortune to have been born and to live in Panama.

Banking Commission President Views Restrictions

PA2812003189 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2118 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Interview with Edgardo Lasso Valdes, president of the Banking Commission, by unidentified reporter on 27 December, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lasso] The Banking Commission has been meeting with officials of the new government to discuss banking (?activities). We have been meeting several hours a day during the past few days to consider the possibility of announcing to the public that the banks will open. This possibility had already been announced by Guillermo Ford, second vice president and planning minister. He has asked us to assist the new government in normalizing banking activities as soon as possible. Several important resolutions to regulate the banking activities were passed today.

After a broad discussion, it was agreed to extend the banking restrictions for 6 months. This, however, is not a negative sign. Quite the contrary. The idea is to ask the local and international communities to trust that the new government is seeking ways to normalize the country's economic activities. We have learned that the U.S. Government has lifted the sanctions imposed on Panama. This will automatically permit the restricted funds of the National Bank and a large number of accounts to be returned to the country. These funds will contribute to normalizing the country's economic activities in the best possible manner. We at the Banking Commission have promised to cooperate with the new government, as we always have. The banks will be able to work as normally as possible. May I repeat: The extension of the restrictions is only a waiting period for the people to recover trust. The restrictions will enable depositors to understand that banking activities will be normalized in the country to the extent that the banks are trusted. The country requires the cooperation of all good Panamanians and the foreigners who live with us. The more we trust the banking system, the sooner we will normalize the country's economic activities. This is the

purpose of the restrictions. As I said before, this waiting time will last only 6 months and could be reduced to the extent that all of us cooperate and trust the Panamanian banking system again.

[Reporter] What mechanism will the banks use to finance commerce and industry so they can resume their activities?

[Lasso] This is one of the tasks of the new government. I understand there are officials of the new government, particularly National Bank Manager Luis H. Moreno, in the United States at this time negotiating the return of all of the frozen funds and trying to get fresh loans. This fresh money will enable this bank to lend money again. We are not saying this will be done tomorrow, for instance. It is necessary for all of the people to cooperate so the situation throughout the country can return to normal as soon as possible. The board of directors of the Banking Commission has been working on this for many hours. All of the members have promised to help resolve all the problems worrying us. The post-dated checks issued by the government will also be cashed. The banks have also promised to honor these checks to relieve the pressure on the National Bank. Just as the commercial sector has been asked to cooperate, the banks have promised to honor all of these checks. In this way, we will cooperate so the banking and economic activities in the country will return to normal in a very short time.

Panama City Mayor Cochez Lists Priorities

PA2812035289 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The books of the city municipality will be audited to set responsibilities in the event there is a deficit, new Mayor Guillermo Cochez has announced. This is what he said:

[Begin Cochez recording] The first priority is to clean up the city. Second, we have ordered that the cemeteries, which have not been operating for several days, those at Amador and Juan Diaz, be reopened. Third, it has been a priority to have foodstuffs for the people. Therefore, we have placed emphasis on the central market and the outlying marketplaces. I will personally go there to direct operations. Also, cooperation is under way with the police department headed by Major Quesada and Major Reyes Dutary of the traffic department, to try to reestablish order, vigilance, and traffic in the city.

Many more persons went out on the streets yesterday and today. In reality, we have seen a lot of cooperation. I was quite pleased today to see the personnel of the mayor's office greet me enthusiastically. I felt that what they want is to put a stop to the irresponsibility and laziness in the mayor's office and to punish whoever is found to engage in irregularities. I have already detected some irregularities that were made during the administration that began in 1984. There will not be any persecution. Ours is a government of reconstruction and national reconciliation, but there will be justice. The honest employees need to see that justice is done, especially with those who have stolen so much during the past few years.

I am acting mayor and was elected legislator, but do not know when the assembly will be installed. I was asked to take over the post of mayor and am doing so very gladly and enthusiastically. I told all the department directors of the municipality that, just as I have a temporary post, their post is also temporary. We are all on a temporary status, because precisely all of those who abused the others, all those who took advantage of the public employees, who terrified them and forced them to participate in all those things involving CODEPADI [Committee for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] and other things cannot stay because they are a bad example. At this time, however, anyone who wants to work will be well received. We want to stress, of course, that these are temporary posts.

[Reporter] Mr. Cochez, it was said that you started auditing the city municipality books today. Is there any truth to this?

[Cochez] We have hired independent auditors to help us in the audit. At this time, they have started their auditing work with the cooperation of professional personnel, who were not working there, and with the cooperation of some employees recommended to us because of their honesty and integrity. Therefore, whatever emerges will be learned by all the media. We want to set an example so the things that happened in the past will never happen again. There were many cassettes, many things. I imagine that at a given moment we will find a small room with witchcraft and sorcery artifacts. Apparently, these things were found everywhere. [end recording]

Utilities Director Discusses New Policies

PA2812045389 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2030 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Interview with Jorge De la Guardia, director of the Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification, IRHE, with unidentfied reporter on 27 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [De la Guardia] The general system is operating marginally at this time because of the shortage of all kinds of spare parts. We lack spare transformers and fuses and cables for emergency connections. Although we are working with little more than nothing, we are serving the community. Nevertheless, we are working in marginal conditions.

[Reporter] Have you people located the severe damage that the system has sustained in the past few days?

[De la Guardia] The most serious damage was in Chorrillo and Tinajitas. The system is back up in Tinajitas, and we are trying to restore service in Chorrillo. We are returning to normal. All of the interior is receiving power.

[Reporter] What will be the guidelines for managing the institution from now on?

[De la Guardia] We intend to make IRHE an eminently technical and apolitical institution, one which will serve the entire community. We will convince the people that the institution belongs to them. We, as an institution, pledge ourselves to the community.

[Reporter] What have you to say regarding IRHE's investment and expansion projects?

[De la Guardia] Two aspects are to be resolved immediately. One is to put into operation all of IRHE's thermal power plants so they can work efficiently, particularly those at Bahia Las Minas. We are talking with European governments, which are willing to donate spare parts worth $3.5 million. In addition, we have to complete the Fortuna project, which has been paralyzed for more than a year. We will soon hold talks with contractors to determine what kind of arrangements we can make so the work can be continued.

There is a very important aspect of IRHE's administration. That is the relationship between management and the union.

IRHE has experienced many labor problems because of labor - management conflicts. We have been talking with several groups to reinstate some of the workers who were laid off without cause. However, we must initiate this process from an institutional viewpoint. This is what we are discussing with the executive directors.

[Reporter] Have you also met with the labor union leaders?

[De la Guardia] I held an informal meeting with some labor union leaders on 26 December.

[Reporter] What have you to say regarding the embezzlement of funds that has been going on for years?

[De la Guardia] We have ordered an assessment of all of the institution's properties. But I cannot comment on this at present.

[Reporter] Some of the employees have been laid off for political reasons, and they did not belong to the union. These employees have been calling us to find out whether they are to show up for work tomorrow.

[De la Guardia] As I said, an institutional policy should be applied in these cases. But we cannot apply the case of the laid-off employees to all the others. We will have to consider these cases individually. However, we are willing to correct all past mistakes.

Human Rights Committee Letter on Public Force

PA2712133589 Panama City Radio Mia in Spanish 2141 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text of letter sent to President Guillermo Endara, First Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Second Vice President Guillermo Ford by Panamanian Human Rights Committee; date and place not given]

[Text] Your Excellencies:

The Panamanian Human Rights Committee [CPPDH] addresses you to convey certain opinions and requests that are within the scope of our goals and objectives and which we feel are vitally important for complete enforcement of human rights in our country during this historic time we are experiencing:

1. The CPPDH is aware that it is urgent to organize the new Panamanian Public Force to guarantee respect for human rights. While pursuing this goal, serious mistakes can be made if the Public Force is not completely subordinated to civilian authorities. Consequently, the CPPDH asks that:

a. The intention be expressed by the legislative branch to seek to abolish the army and to correspondingly demilitarize the country. It has been demonstrated that it is unnecessary to have a Panamanian army for the alleged purpose of defending the canal. An army represents an unproductive element in a country's development. This money must be devoted to such areas as public health and education.

b. The Public Force, with police and traffic duties and fully dependent on the executive branch, must include a territorial political division in its organizational chart. An example would be chief of police of Chiriqui Province rather than chief of the 5th military zone.

c. The various components of the Public Force—police and traffic—be separated and that a judicial technical police be established as a branch of the Attorney General's Office.

d. The provisions of Law No. 2 of 1984 with regard to instruction on human rights be incorporated into our country's educational system, including the university level.

e. The rights and human dignity of all soldiers and civilians who are detained or have surrendered during the recent developments be respected, granting them the right to due legal process and respecting international treaties and agreements on armed conflicts.

f. Jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court on Human Rights of the Organization of American States be recognized by meeting all requirements and formalities established by the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights or San Jose Agreement.

g. A new law be enacted to regulate the new Public Force in order for it to guarantee respect for the citizens' fundamental rights and not be a repressive force. In their search for justice and freedom, the overwhelming majority of the Panamanian people have made tremendous sacrifices to achieve democracy in Panama. This

sacrifice demands that the most qualified personnel be chosen to fill the various positions in the government for the good of our homeland.

Your efforts as our country's highest leaders must be designed to consolidate democracy forever. The CPPDH hopes that you and your new government team will take the present letter and its contents into consideration, as it is the result of a consensus reached by this committee, the chief function of which is and will continue to be to defend and promote human rights in Panama.

With assurances of our most distinguished consideration and esteem,

[Signed] Osvaldo Velasquez, president; Roberto Troncoso, vice president; Jose Manuel Faundez, secretary general; Manuel A. Cupas, recording secretary; Rodrigo Arosemena; Cecilia Alegre; Enrique Alvarenga; Didimo Rios; Lucrecia Herrera Cossarelli; Rosario Arias de Galindo; Rogelio Cruz; and Juan J. Massot.

Panama City Radio Reports Curfew Hours Reduced

PA2812011689 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 0053 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] We have information that the curfew has been shortened. The curfew hours are now between 2300 and 0500. The curfew hours had been between 2000 and 0500.

Argentina

Further Commentary on Events in Panama

Recognition of Endara 'Premature'

PY2712173889 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1445 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (EFE)—Raul Carignano, Foreign Ministry secretary for Latin American Affairs, today told EFE that Argentina considers it "premature" to recognize Guillermo Endara's administration in Panama.

Carignano said that Argentina "is waiting for the evolution of events" in Panama following the U.S. military occupation and the removal of General Manuel Antonio Noriega from power.

The recognition of the Endara administration, which came to power following the U.S. military invasion, is the subject of "permanent consultation" by Argentina and by other Latin American countries, especially among the Group of Eight members.

Carignano said that a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Group of Eight (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, but without Panama—which has been temporarily excluded because of its political situation) is "very possible." The date and place will be determined in the next few days.

"Argentina is interested in learning what guidelines will be followed in Panama to ensure democracy and the withdrawal of the U.S. occupation troops," Carignano added.

Carignano said that several congressmen have expressed their firm opposition to Argentina recognizing Endara as the president of Panama.

"The Argentine Foreign Ministry has not yet adopted a position because it considers it premature to do so, and wants to adopt a joint position within the Group of Eight and the Latin American countries," Carignano added.

Carignano denied that Argentina follows a diplomatic doctrine by which the government automatically recognizes a new government without announcing it, and only makes a statement when there is a concrete rejection of the country in question.

The Argentine secretary for Latin American Affairs denied a report published today in the Buenos Aires newspaper CLARIN, which states that since the Argentine Government has not objected to the new Panamanian Administration, it automatically recognizes the new Panamanian president.

Group of Eight diplomatic sources consulted by EFE in Buenos Aires said that the recognition of the current Panamanian authorities is being hindered by the U.S. military occupation of the isthmus.

The same sources said that one cannot recognize the new government of a country occupied by foreign troops.

Government Communique Released

PY2712221189 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2136 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (DYN)—The Argentine Governnment today called for the U.S. Government to withdraw its forces from Panama to find an "adequate" political solution that will allow democracy to be restored in that country.

The official communique says:

"The Argentine Foreign Ministry reaffirms its position on Panama, calling on the foreign occupation forces to leave the territory of that country to help the Panamanian people find an adequate political solution that will allow the restoration of a representative democracy.

"The Argentine Foreign Ministry also states that it is absolutely premature to talk about recognizing the new government and that it is maintaining permanent contact with the foreign ministries of various countries, especially with the Group of Eight, aimed at establishing common methods to resolve that serious situation."

Food Sent to Panama

PY2712182289 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1628 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (TELAM)—The National Department for Social Emergencies has sent to Panama 650 boxes of foodstuffs and 1,500 kg of powdered milk as a contribution for the people of that nation which has been invaded by U.S. troops.

The aid package, worth 3.15 million australes, was coordinated between the Argentine Foreign Ministry and the Argentine Air Force. It will be distributed among Panamanian children and the poor, according to Alberto Conca, head of the department, which is under the jurisdiction of the Health and Social Action Ministry.

Conca said that this shipment is "an example of cooperation within Latin America" and emphasized that the food will be distributed by the Argentine Embassy in Panama.

Government Considering 'State of Siege'

PY2712234689 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2244 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (DYN)—Government sources told DYN tonight that the government is studying the possibility of instituting a state of siege throughout the country in light of indications of social disturbances and as a disuasive measure to prevent possible violence due to the serious economic situation prevailing in Argentina.

The sources indicated that in the next few days the government will call for the main opposition political forces and influential sectors of the nation to come to an agreement to face the social emergency.

Government Denies Possibility

PY2812000189 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2325 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (NA)—Presidential Spokesman Humberto Toledo categorically denied tonight that the government plans to enforce a state of siege in the country.

Toledo made the denial just after 2100 in response to a press agency report citing government sources about that possibility. The report said that the government was studying the possibility of instituting a state of siege as a result of the serious social problems caused by the economic crisis in some areas.

It was not possible to get any information on this matter from the Interior Ministry, while Toledo "categorically" denied the rumor.

Economy Minister Blames 'Rumors' for Dollar Rise

PY2712115089 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1101 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec(TELAM)—Argentine Economy Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez blames the rise of the dollar exchange rate on a state of mind arising from rumors and information leaks. He reasserted that "his economic model based on freedom" continues.

His statement to TELAM was also broadcast over Buenos Aires Domestic Service. In it Gonzalez indicated that the government must make "a considerable effort" to rebuild its foreign reserves and it is "not willing to open the floodgates so that a few people who want to speculate on this situation can make a profit at the expense of the people's sacrifice."

Menem Restructures Presidential Secretariats

PY2712154089 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1255 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (NA)—Official sources reported this morning that President Carlos Menem last night approved several modifications to the structure of his household. Under these measures, 20 secretariats and under secretariats that have depended on the Presidency will from now on depend on ministries.

The restructuring includes the Secretariat for Sports, headed by Fernando Galmarini; the Secretariat for Tourism (Omar Dassi Lavalle); the Secretariat for Youth (Claudia Bello); the Secretariat for Science and Technology (Raul Matera); and the Secretariat for Women [name indistinct].

According to the sources, the only secretariats that will continue to depend on the Presidency are: the General Secretariat, headed by Alberto Kohan; the Secretariat for Planning (Moises Ikonicoff); the Secretariat for Technical and Legal (Raul Granillo Ocampo); the Secretariat for Public Affairs (Gustavo Beliz); the Secretariat for State Intelligence (Juan Bautista Yofre); and the Secretariat for Press and Broadcasting Secretary (Jorge Rachid).

It was also reported that the president will allegedly sign a decree appointing Health and Social Action Minister Eduardo Bauza as "coordinating" minister of the national Cabinet. This appointment will cause new internal clashes between Alberto Kohan, secretary general of the Presidency, and Bauza.

Kohan and Bauza had been competing for a long time for this post, but a third man has now entered the struggle: Interior Minister Julio Meza Figueroa, who aspires to the post that could be held by Bauza.

Menem, Justicialist Discuss 'Party Discipline'

PY2712185889 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 27 Dec 89 p 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—President Carlos Menem and the Justicialist Party leadership agreed yesterday to put an end to internal struggle within the Peronist movement and intensify dialogue between the government and the party.

Both Menem and Justicialist National Council chairman Antonio Cafiero made public their support for Jose Luis Manzano as Lower House Justicialist bloc leader, despite insistent pro-Menem leaders suggesting last week that he would be replaced.

Menem and the National Council members held a working breakfast at the Olivos presidential residence, and Council spokesman Jacinto Gaibur described the meeting as "the most important since the Justicialist administration took over" from the Radicals on July 8 this year.

In the framework of what Gaibur called "a harder line on party discipline," the two sides reached an agreement for "severe punishment" of party leaders who publicly criticize government officials.

Before meeting with President Menem, the Justicialist leaders anticipated that they would issue a critical statement on United States Ambassador Terence Todman, who had expressed his "disappointment" over the reaction of local authorities to the US invasion of Panama.

Apart from Menem, Cafiero, Rachid and Manzano, the breakfast was attended by Jose Maria Vernet, Carlos Grosso, Luis Rubeo, Juan Jose Zanola, Roberto Garcia, Jose Lingeri and Ruben Cardozo as party councillors

and Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa and his Institutional Affairs Secretary Carlos Corach, as government representatives.

Cafiero later told the press that "we have agreed with the head of state to end this savage internal fight, as he had pointed out that he noticed a certain degree of indiscipline in the party."

He also disclosed that Menem "considers that the Justicialist Party cannot be confused with the government because it has different objectives" and that the President "thinks that only when the Peronist have concluded a mature debate on the recent government measures will they be ready for their national convention," scheduled to take place in February.

Gaibur in turn stressed that Menem "gave his personal support to Manzano," and pointed out that he was starting to hold preliminary meetings with a view to the February convention.

Bolivia

Further Commentary on U.S. Action in Panama

Government Outlines Position

PY2712143089 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 22 Dec 89 Second Section p 1

[Text] Santa Cruz, 21 Dec (PRESENCIA)—Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora stated here today that the U.S. invasion of Panama is a disaster for Latin Americans and for the whole international system. He also voiced his support for the self-determination of nations and the nonintervention in foreign affairs.

Shortly after attending a ceremony to mark the 53d anniversary of YPFB [Bolivian Government Oil Deposits] and to commemorate the oil workers's day, Paz Zamora told PRESENCIA that Bolivia, as an OAS member, supports those countries that condemned the armed invasion of Panama.

Paz Zamora has confirmed that he was called by the U.S. President, the vice president, and the assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, who reported to him "their viewpoints." He denied having been pressured to approve the U.S. action.

The OAS members have supported different positions regarding the issue, but Bolivia will support those countries that defend the sovereignty and the dignity of the Latin American nations. He said that Bolivia will not attend a foreign ministries' consultative meeting that is scheduled to be held immediately in Washington because it terms it as untimely.

Paz Zamora said that he does not believe that Nicaragua will be the next country to be invaded because it is moving toward the consolidation of free and democratic elections in 1990. This democratic process, in his opinion, should continue until the end as has been previously planned.

Asked about a previous announcement that his Peruvian counterpart Alan Garcia will not attend the 1990 presidential summit on the antidrug struggle in Cartagena, Colombia because of the U.S. invasion of Panama, Paz Zamora said that he is not aware of Garcia's decision.

Paz Zamora, however, expressed his willingness to attend the presidential summit because not attending would be harmful for Bolivia.

He said that the outcome of events in Panama should be awaited. He added that Bolivia advocates the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Panama, the establishment of a provisional government, and free and democratic elections within the shortest possible time. He stressed that all this will depend on the development of the events in Panama.

Finally, Paz Zamora emphasized the need to defend the Bolivian position on this international issue, even above the ideological problem.

Government Releases Communique

PY2712145889 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 21 Dec 89 p 7

[Text] Following is the text of the Bolivian Government communique on the situation in Panama:

"The Government of National Unity reiterates its unchanging position in defense of the principles of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries and the respect for the self-determination of peoples. At the UN General Assembly, the President of the Republic said regarding Central America that 'each nation should decide its own democracy, as long as it is an authentic and clear democracy, a democracy capable of coexisting with the other democracies of the world.'

"The government, therefore, rejects violence as a solution for the grave Panamanian crisis and expresses its serious concern over the U.S. intervention in that brotherly country and its unpredictable consequences on the stability of the region and on international relations.

"The Bolivian Government will continue examining the situation to cooperate in the search for an adequate solution to the crisis in Panama and to guarantee the implementation of the Torrijos-Carter treaty. The government will also coordinate its action with that of other Latin American countries in order to preserve the integrity of the inter-American system, particularly with those countries of the Central American region because of their direct knowledge of the problem.

"The government regrets that the two countries, which are united by old historic links, find themselves involved in this grave conflict.

"La Paz, 20 December 1989."

Congress Drafts Resolution

PY2712140089 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Chamber of Deputies has rejected U.S. military intervention in Panama and has agreed to submit a resolution to the Latin American Parliament challenging the recognition of the new Panamanian president.

Last week, the deputies began discussion of the document, which will be conveyed to the Latin American Parliament. They agreed that the U.S. Government violated all existing OAS and United Nations regulations with their military invasion of Panama.

Here are the most outstanding parts of the draft resolution that will be submitted to the Latin American Parliament:

Considering the principles of freedom, independence, sovereignty, and self-determination are essential for international relations between states, any violation of these principles endangers peace and coexistence between nations because it interferes with democratic rights and imposes unacceptable conditions on an environment of peaceful interdependence.

The document recalls present dispositions regarding respect for the sovereignty of nations and stresses that international organizations, in their international relations, will abstain from resorting to the use of threats or force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. The Bolivian representatives recall that the U.S. Government invasion has violated many articles of the UN Charter, particularly those referring to respect for states and their internal order.

The document, in its resolution, urges Latin American governments to respect what is established in the UN, OAS, and TIAR [Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty] charters and demands that the United States withdraw its troops from Panamanian territory and pay compensation for damages to people and property caused by the unjustified military aggression. The deputies state that the presence of foreign troops in Panamanian territory affects the sovereignty of that state. They urge Latin American governments not to recognize Guillermo Endara's regime. The document further adds that such recognition should only be extended to a constitutionally elected government.

The resolution, which must be considered in the Latin American Parliament first, will be conveyed to the U.S. Congress, the UN Security Council, the OAS General Secretariat, and the World Interparlamentarian Union.

According to the report, the document is signed by all party blocs represented in the Chamber of Deputies.

The meeting of the Latin American Parliament might be held here or in Quito, Ecuador, during the first half of January.

Protests in Front of U.S. Embassy

PY2712165689 La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 22 Dec 89 p 4

[Text] The Bolivian Labor Confederation [COB], political parties, university students, and social organizations yesterday demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy building against the U.S. military intervention in Panama.

This demonstration demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Panama because they are violating the sovereignty of the people and jeopardizing the independence of all Latin American countries.

According to Ursula Goizueta, the COB press secretary, the demonstration was conducted later along the streets of the city as a march of protest.

Peasants and teachers union organizations also participated in the demonstration, as well as members of the Bolivian-Nicaraguan Friendship House. Goizueta reported that the COB has instructed its departmental organizations to publicly burn U.S. flags seeking to express the protest of the Bolivian labor movement over the U.S. intervention.

Goizueta added that 50 percent of the departmental organizations obeyed the COB's instructions.

Political Parties' Reaction

PY2712205589

[Editorial Report] La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish on 21 December 1989 carries on page 7 a 260-word article on reactions by Bolivia's main political parties to the U.S. action in Panama. It states in part: "Nuflo Chavez, deputy chief of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, has said that the presence of U.S. troops in Panama worsens regional conflicts and places the existing democracies at risk."

"He said that the United States did not take into account the consequences of the invasion in Panama and he demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops to allow Panama to govern itself according to its own internal juridical order."

"Luis Vasquez, leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, demanded respect for the 'golden principle' of nonintervention. 'As a state and country, we do not support the actions carried out by Noriega, but we believe that dialogue is the most appropriate way to solve a problem,' he stated."

The United Left Front (IU) stated that "the U.S. military intervention shows the degree of dependency of some countries and a lack of respect for international regulations."

IU member Walter Delgadillo has said that "gunboat policy is still valid despite all the years that have gone by and despite U.S. declarations in favor of peaceful coexistence."

Another 420-word article on page 5 of the same issue states the Bolivian leftist parties' condemnation of the U.S. military invasion of Panama. The Bolivian Communist Party (PCB) says that "the U.S. action demonstrates the 'policy of a world power, interventionism, violence, and abuse against the Latin American peoples. This is why the PCB is demanding that the Bolivian Government defend the principle of nonintervention and condemn the use of force.'"

The Revolutionary Workers Party also issued a communique that points out that "as long as imperialism exists, there will be invasions and massacres like the one we are now witnessing." The communique also "suggests that the government 'break relations with the United States.'"

The United Katarist Liberation Front (FULKA) says that the U.S. Government intends to "take the Panama Canal away from the Latin Americans" and that "the FULKA will join any public demonstration to criticize the U.S. attitude."

The Labor Socialist Movement (MST) released a document stating that "the only thing that the Americans want is to not comply with the canal treaty." It adds: "Control over the canal zone allows the United States to maintain a military force there to control all of Central America." The MST document states: "We do not politically support Noriega—his government is deeply antidemocratic and against the workers—but this problem must be solved by the Panamanian people, not the United States."

The same paper publishes a 400-word article, also on page 5, quoting statements by Chamber of Deputies President Fernando Kieffer, who says: "Besides the political consequences that the violent U.S. military intervention in Panama will bring to that country, we believe that this action will increase tension and worsen the atmosphere of violence and war that can be seen on the horizon." He adds that the Chamber of Deputies "condemns the use of violence with all its strength and will demand that the Latin American Parliament consider the consequences of the regrettable events that have taken place in Panama."

Daily Discusses Causes

PY2712181089 La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] In a situation such as the one created in the last 48 hours in Panama, it is not possible to separate the causes from the effects.

Manuel Antonio Noriega is—as we all know—an undesirable military man, not just because he abused his own people, but for his well-known close contacts with drug trafficking which produced for him a great fortune. We have to add to this the fact that he did not heed the people's will when he annulled the elections that were carried out under his control and which proclaimed Guillermo Endara as the legitimate winner.

The repudiation of Noriega in and out of Panama—especially his involvement in international crime and drug trafficking—is for us the real cause of the problem that today, in a bloody way, is being spelled out in Panama.

The way the problem is being faced is also important and worth discussing. The entire world, with the natural exception of those who for ideological or other reasons took Noriega as a useful fool or an accomplice, would have celebrated Noriega's separation from Panamanian public life if the separation had been accomplished without stepping on the principle of nonintervention.

The PRC some time ago, and Romania today, are eloquent proof that the freedom of the people and "perestroyka" are still well in the future. The Panamanian case, even though somewhat different, is clear proof that the old ways, which we in the West hoped were a thing of the past, are still with us as a painful stigma.

The distress of the Panamanian people, who up until a few days ago were subjected to a oppressive dictatorship and who are now forced to fight for a cause which in many ways is not just, hurt us as if it were our own ordeal.

We cannot conclude this note without saying that whatever the end of this regrettable episode, the Torrijos-Carter treaty on the surrender of the Panama Canal should be respected to dispel all existing doubts on the intervention. Finally, we wish the prompt return of peace and justice to this friendly nation and its people.

President Paz Zamora on Andean Pact Summit

PY2812115889 La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 19 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora has said that important decisions, involving social and economic conceptions within the new framework of the integration process, were made during the Andean Pact summit. He said this at El Alto International Airport shortly after his arrival at 0232 this morning. President Paz Zamora attended a summit of the presidents of the five member countries of the Cartagena Accord. The summit was held in the Galapagos Islands (Ecuador) on 17 and 18 December.

President Paz Zamora optimistically pointed out that specific measures, through which it will be possible to apply the new guidelines, have been outlined. He said that the next step will be to set the date for lifting customs taxes for an expanded internal market and—he

added—at that time we will begin the implementation of a Common External Tariff [Arancel Comun Externo] outside the system.

The president said that, on this basis, certain economic policies will be developed, placing emphasis on a homogeneous monetary and foreign exchange policy within the system for the five member countries of the region.

The president noted that it was necessary to make this group of "major" decisions within the Andean Pact System. He said that the development of the Andean Pact was currently paralyzed because these decisions had not yet been implemented.

He mentioned the "managed trade" [comercio administrado] which is merely the protectionism by the big Andean countries against a number of export products from Bolivia and Ecuador. The president added that this system has been abolished, and Venezuela and Colombia have agreed to comply with this.

In addition to these basic decisions, the president pointed out that other guidelines were established, including the installation of an Andean television and telecommunications system and the creation of a Peasant Development Fund that will be managed by the Andean Development Corporation.

President Paz Zamora emphasized that there are other points included in the Galapagos Islands Declaration, which is a basic document that expresses the will of the presidents of the region to enhance the Andean Subregional Accord.

Hercules C-130 Airplane Crashes, Kills 24

PY2812105889 La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 22 Dec 89 p 4

[Excerpts] Twenty-four people died yesterday near the Guayamerin Airport when a Hercules C-130 airplane crashed while taking off. The reason for the crash has not yet been officially reported. [passage omitted]

Last night, the Bolivian Air Force [FAB], through its Public Relations Department, released the following communique:

The FAB General Command, with deep grief, hereby reports an accident involving a Hercules airplane of the Transportation Air Group [Grupo Aereo de Transporte], registration No TAM-062.

The accident occurred this afternoon at 1408 while the plane was taking off from the town of Guayamerin, bound for Santa Cruz. It was carrying 10 crew members and 18 passengers on a special flight. [passage omitted]

It has also been confirmed that Mirtha Cossio and Julio Cesar Paz Coni, a minor, have been injured and are in a serious condition.

Crew members Noncommissioned Officer Ruben Alarcon Mariaca (Load Master) [preceding two words in English] and Mr Gerardo Acha Saba (flight assistant) were reported unhurt.

To determine the reasons for this tragic event, the FAB General Command has ordered the FAB Accident Investigations Board [Junta Investigadora de Accidentes de la FAB] to immediately begin an investigation.

Peru

President Garcia Holds News Conference 25 Dec

PY2712100889 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 26 Dec 89

[News conference by President Alan Garcia with foreign correspondents at Government House in Lima on 25 December—recorded]

[Text] [Garcia] I thank you for giving me the opportunity to talk to you on this very meaningful day and especially for allowing me to take you away from time that you were going to spend with your families. Once again I would like to reiterate my Christmas greetings to all of you and my appreciation for your willingness to attend this news conference on this day, which is usually free of political or journalistic activities.

However, 5 days after the beginning of the serious events in Panama, I think it is time to take stock of the situation and to review and reaffirm Peru's position on these events and its proposals to the international community.

I would like to make a brief introduction. First, I would like to say that the shelter that General Noriega has sought at the Apostolic Nunciature is an absolutely secondary, even incidental, event in comparison to Panama's real problem, the U.S. invasion. Noriega's actions, whether he hides in the Chiriqui jungle or in Panama City or seeks shelter at the Apostolic Nunciature, do nothing to change the situation between Latin America and the United States.

I would like to state categorically that Peru was the first country to strongly criticize Manuel Noriega's dictatorship and the shameless manner in which he replaced presidents at will. We withdrew our ambassador to Panama because we felt that it was not reasonable to maintain relations with a regime like that. We have also said that we believe that Gen Manuel Noriega is a creation of U.S. diplomacy; he has worked closely with the United States and is now a kind of Frankenstein over whom the United States has lost control. It was only after this happened that the United States realized that he was a drug trafficker and a dictator. As long as he helped to keep President Royo in his post, and then replaced him with Espriella, who was later replaced by Illueca, who in turn was replaced by Barletta, who was ousted to install Delvalle, U.S. diplomacy backed him up.

We therefore feel that Noriega epitomizes one kind of relationship between U.S. administrations and Latin America that must also be eliminated. This must be made very clear. However, General Noriega, his personality, and his dictatorship are only one side of the issue. His personal status is incidental and secondary. Whether he remains at the Apostolic Nunciature, leaves it, or gets turned over or not will do nothing to change the situation. That is an issue for the Nunciature, the U.S. Administration, and the people of Panama.

The other side of the issue is that the fundamental problem that worries us Latin American leaders is the U.S. invasion of Panama. This was a brutal, excessive, and arrogant invasion because it employed 30,000 troops—2 fully equipped, modern divisions—against a country with an area of 77,000 km and a population of 2,300,000. This invasion was simply a highly censurable display of arrogance and a show of force. The most significant aspect, however, is that Endara himself has said that he was put into this situation and that he had not asked the United States to defend him or to help him oust Noriega.

The right-wing parties in Latin American and in Peru in particular are looking for arguments to justify the Yankee invasion. One of the most recent arguments states that Mr Endara, because he was elected this past 7 May, was legally entitled to call upon a foreign state to help him out.

All these arguments became meaningless when Mr Endara himself said that he did not call upon the United States for help. The presence of the United States is absolutely uncalled for, and there is no legal or moral justification for it. Thus, Peru has been and will continue to firmly and categorically reject this invasion, which reopens a chapter that we all believed had been closed in Latin America: that of invasions and interventions. Under this policy the Pentagon, which seems to be behind this operation, will be able to intervene in any Latin American country using the same arguments and justifications. In fact, we have seen that the United States is full of arguments about Latin American countries, undoubtedly to psychologically prepare them for an intervention.

Without being needlessly dramatic or overexaggerating, Peru has been very firm in withdrawing its ambassador from Washington and keeping him in Lima until the U.S. troops leave Panama. That is the essential condition. This means that our relations are now at the level of charge d'affaires. We believe that a full-fledged relationship cannot be maintained.... [changes thought] The president of Peru cannot have a personal representative—which is what an ambassador amounts to—to a president who is attacking a fraternal Latin American nation.

We have also said, and the Peruvian Congress has ratified this by a majority, that the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty [TIAR] is useless, that there is no reciprocal assistance in case of a foreign threat, and that the real foreign threat for Latin America is now the United States and its new big stick policy, the new big stick [Garcia repeats himself, the second time in English] that is being implemented with this shameless invasion. Here is a headline for Mr Bush: The New Big Stick [preceding four words in English].

Our withdrawal from or denounciation of the TIAR following established procedures does not imply a declaration of war, a severance of relations, or any other unnecessary dramatics. It simply means that we are maintaining a firm position and that we are making it clear that our legal and political attitude prevents us from participating as silent accomplices in an invasion of a small country by a power like the United States. We said the same thing about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the bloody crushing of the Hungarian revolution. We use the same stick to measure the two powers that have divided the world between themselves and we lament the fact that European countries which call themselves democratic, socialist, and Western have become accomplices in the aggression against small nations. We truly lament the fact that some who claim to be socialists ended up participating actively in the new imperialism's pillage of Latin America by using their right to veto.

These are the concrete measures: The categorical condemnation, the withdrawal of our ambassador, Peru's withdrawal from the TIAR, and a warning to the U.S. Administration that under these conditions it is difficult, almost impossible, for us to participate in presidential meetings to discuss subjects of common interest, such as drugs.

This has been intentionally misinterpreted by saying that Peru is giving up its antidrug struggle. This is absolutely false. Long before DEA agents and U.S. officials began to worry about this issue—and they began to worry about it very late—Peru had already established its policy of repression and its antitrafficking law.

With great expectations—I would say even with illusions—we in Peru have proposed a summit conference to deal realistically with the problems of eradicating drug trafficking and coca crops in Latin America.

Returning from Belgrade, I made a brief visit to Bogota. There I proposed to President Barco the idea of a meeting among the presidents of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, countries that were mentioned in President Bush's message to the U.S. people on drugs. He had said that he would soon meet with the democratic leaders of Andean countries.

In response to this I went to Bogota and organized with President Barco a meeting here with Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora. From here we invited President Bush. We formally invited him to a meeting in Cartagena. I personally expected and had the illusion that speaking face-to-face on the drug issue would represent an important structural change in U.S. relations with

Latin America. And 5 days before the invasion, Mr Aronson [U.S. assistant secretary for inter-American affairs] handed me a document, a list of subjects to be discussed at Cartagena on behalf of President Bush. That document greatly encouraged me, because I saw that there was a desire to change and rectify the method of interpreting the problem of drug trafficking and coca production in Latin America. I also saw a U.S. willingness to participate financially and economically. This was something new for the reconstruction of the economies of these countries. I said publicly that it was a substantial change in U.S. relations with Latin America. I did not imagine that the decision to invade Panama had already been made.

I think I once said that in politics we must not be naive, but now I think I have been the most naive of all politicians to believe in this substantial change, to firmly believe that we could have a new kind of relations. Five days later, the shameless reality demonstrated to us that everything was just an illusion.

Under these circumstances, it is not possible to sit at a table with the president of a nation that has invaded a sister nation of Latin America. It would be like having a meeting with a pistol on the table: You either do what we want, or we invade you. Under these conditions of force and imposition, we will be unable to hold friendly meetings for political agreements on given problems. These are the main factors and reasons why we have condemned the invasion. As I have said, this invasion lacks any legal basis. Mr. Guillermo Endara, the elected president, said himself that he did not call for the Americans' help.

The fact is that now we are left with another de facto regime. Mr. Endara, despite the fact that—according to all indications—he won the 7 May elections, was not recognized as the winner, not even by the OAS. So we have now installed a de facto regime, just like General Noriega's regime.

Besides, Endara has enthroned himself under U.S. tutelage. The so-called National Assembly was convened under the protection of U.S. Marines. We still don't know where he was first sworn in, or enthroned; therefore, we can only see it as a de facto government. This government's single objective must be to recover Panama's democratic legitimacy through an election.

Fourth [as heard], I truly believe that the United States is on a dead-end road in Panama. Our responsibility as Latin Americans is to seek ways to help the Yankees leave. They began their action confident that it was going to take them only a few hours to accomplish their objectives: Surprise the general headquarters, take Noriega prisoner, and take him—or kidnap him—to the United States. They were surprised. They have now been there for 5 days and it is believed that they will have to stay there for over a month, according to what we have heard. I say this is a dead-end because the longer they stay, the more they will get involved in Panamanian problems. The longer they stay, the less legitimate Endara's government will become. Endara does not have a state apparatus or a national guard that can be reconstructed in 5 days. The longer the troops stay, the more need there will be to remain there to support the de facto regime now in Panama. This is what I would call a dead-end road.

They can stay for 1, 2, or 5 months. They have not taken Noriega, which was their main objective. It is assumed that they did not enter Panama just to seat Endara, just to kill hundreds of Panamanians, as they have done. It is assumed that they entered Panama—as they have being saying—to capture Noriega, their creation, their Frankenstein. However, they have failed, and now we have to see how God's asylum, or the diplomatic asylum, or the Nuncio's problem, or the problem of the bounty on Noriega's head is solved. All of this poses a very serious problem.

The fact that Noriega is in the Nunciature is anecdotic and secondary. The basic problem is the invasion, which was not requested by any Panamanian politician, as we have said.

So we have a de facto government in Panama under U.S. tutelage. The United States is on a dead-end road: The longer it stays in Panama, the less authority the government it wants to impose will have and the stronger will be the need for it to stay. I think they have walked into a swamp that will jeopardize their role not only in Panama but with the rest of Latin America as well. They have fueled a political move toward radicalization in Latin America. This is the very intelligent measure President Bush has implemented. They have failed to take Noriega, they present U.S. troops with blood on their hands, and they are risking their relations with all of Latin America, whether the heads of state accept it or not. To Latin Americans this is an outrage, a violation, and an offense that we will not forget for a long time.

What can we do in this situation? I believe that the only effective way to solve this problem is to use the institutional organizations we have in this hemisphere. We can resort to the United Nations, in which the United States unfortunately exerts its veto rights with the help of allegedly democratic and socialist nations—I am very embarrassed to point out—or to the OAS, where there are fortunately no veto rights. I believe that we must encourage the OAS actions. We now need the OAS to adopt a more active role. I held a long talk with OAS Secretary General Baena Soares last night to analyze possible OAS actions. I have talked with President Menem, President Barco, and other Latin American presidents to further analyze the issue.

All that has taken place at the OAS so far is a meeting of the permanent council, which consists of a meeting of all ambassadors. There has not yet been a foreign ministers consultation meeting. Latin American foreign ministers met three times in May, June, and July to discuss their position if Noriega did not allow elections in Panama or

decided to void the elections. However, now that the United States has invaded Panama and Latin America, the foreign ministers have not held a consultation meeting, which at the OAS is a high-level meeting.

After talking to Baena Soares, President Menem, Barco, and other presidents, I am now trying to contact Foreign Minister Julio Londono [of Colombia], who is the chairman of the OAS Committee for Consultation on Panama. I want to ask him to organize a meeting of Latin American foreign ministers. We must try our best; we must call for OAS meetings at the highest levels so that we can find ways to help get the U.S. troops out of the country. It is no longer the time to condemn them and to ask them to leave Panama. We must now find concrete ways to help them leave Panama. This means that, through the foreign ministers consultation meeting that has been summoned by the last permanent council, the foreign ministers can find a way to legitimate the Panamanian Government through the election of an assembly or through general presidential elections.

The reconstruction program for the police and state organizations that will be implemented by this de facto government, or by other Panamanian officials, must be supervised by an OAS inter-American force made up of troops from our countries, not by U.S. Marines or divisions.

There is no other solution to this problem. First, we must replace the U.S. Army with an inter-American force. Before that, however, the foreign ministers consultation meeting must find a path toward the restoration of democracy in Panama. In view of this extremely serious U.S. invasion, which represents a dramatic wound, Mr Endara—who had been legitimately elected by the people but has now lost this legitimacy by using the U.S. presence in the country to be installed as president—will show his generosity and lack of ambition by holding elections in the country and by replacing the U.S. troops with an inter-American force. The fact that this force will be organized by the OAS will allow it to better ensure these elections.

I believe these remarks sum up to some extent our position and our proposal at this time. We are consulting with Latin American chiefs of state, because if we don't do it at this opportune time—when the Christmas spirit removes the sense of urgency—we will end up either recognizing a regime supported by the U.S. divisions there or resigning ouselves to doing nothing. I believe that Latin America should attain its maturity—its conscience for historical action—in these circumstances. I wanted to give this introduction so that we can then talk about the subjects you propose.

[(Kotov)] I am TASS correspondent (Vladimir Kotov). Mr President, it seems to me that it is not justified to talk of the complicity of the Soviet Union in these events in Panama on Tuesday.

[Garcia] Excuse me. Had I referred to the Soviet Union, I would have been very specific and used the term Soviet, but I used the word socialist to refer to other countries.

[(Kotov)] Excuse me sir. The Soviet position is very clear. We first [word indistinct] condemned the U.S. invasion of Panama. The Soviet Union also expressed its solidarity with the Romanian people. The Soviet Union has already sent medicines and organized medical units to help the Romanian people. It is also impossible to speak of the complicity of the socialist countries in these events. I also want to say that the Soviet Union applies a policy of new thinking, without meddling in other countries. The press has speculated that in Malta the green light was given for the invasion of Panama. That is a lie, Mr President. I want to repeat that we condemn the invasion of Panama, and the Soviet Union wants to help the democratic people to resolve this crisis. I also want to ask you what is your position on the events in Romania?

[Garcia] Although it is not the subject of our conversation, I have at no time said that the Soviet Union supported the invasion of Panama. It is up to the analysts to decide whether in Malta they did the same thing as in Yalta 40 years ago, dividing the world and authorizing interventions. I believe that the Soviet Union with the new ideological winds, at least at the high levels....[change thought] Mr Gorbachev knows very well that invasions end up as they have in all invaded countries: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary. The Soviet Union has experience with invasions; Prague in 1968 resembles Panama in 1989. All these invasions are similar. Of course, you are correct in saying that things are changing in the Soviet Union. Perhaps the North Amercans should see, in the example of the Soviet Union of Brezhnev and its invasions, what happens to invaded people after some time. In fact, I did not refer to any case in particular. When I criticized the veto at the UN, the veto by some socialist countries, I did not refer to the Soviet Union, which is not the only country that calls itself socialist.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] What happened is that with their vaunted intelligence, the invaders expected Mr Noriega to seek asylum in the Cuban or Nicaraguan Embassy, and Mr Noriega preferred to take shelter where he was not expected. The nunciature was the point of contact for my communication with Endara, Ford, and Arias Calderon at the moments of deepest crisis during the elections. Obviously, nobody in Panama expected that Noriega would choose the nunciature to take shelter. With a rather narrow way of thinking, everyone expected Noriega to go to Cuba or Nicaragua. I believe that on this Noriega has won the day. It does not seem right to me that the embassy should be surrounded. In fact, not a single U.S. soldier should be on the streets of Panama. This must not be seen only from the standpoint of one's

self-interest. The problem is general; there are 26,000 soldiers there with no right to be there, and history will judge it.

[Reporter] Mr President, after the U.S.invasion, some people asked themselves if the people of Panama had the capacity to resist. The United States at the very beginning of the invasion offered, for instance, $150 per rifle. The people did not react to resist but to loot. How can a Latin American dignitary interpret the reaction of a people who had apparently not prepared to resist and to defend the nation's dignity, as some people say?

[Garcia] The situation was somewhat complicated in Panama. We talked at length in Cartagena with the Andean Presidents about Panama. We all agreed on one point. Panama is one of the countries that has suffered the greatest domination and it has been previously invaded by consumerism and the U.S. way of life [preceding three words in English]. It is no secret that Panama is the country with the fewest possibilities for economic autonomy in Latin America. Panama does not have a currency. Its currency, under the pretext of parity with the dollar, is the dollar. If currency is one of the essential attributes of nationhood, and Panama does not have one, obviously, both in the area of culture and material life model.... [change thought] Furthermore because we Latins from the tropics are inclined to indifference, there is an important cushion of indifference when elections were called. I can cite President Solis Palma, or so-called President Solis Palma, who in a private conversation in La Paz confessed to me that the Endara slate had won by 2 to 1 or 3 to 1, but that there was no evidence of this. They acted on a fact: The indifference of the Panamanian people. The people voted, and the election was voided. It was thought that there would be a massive and bloody popular uprising, but nothing happened. The Americans also used that indifference, a relative indifference toward political activities. Obviously the ordinary citizen—when he sees that after the death of Torrijos, Royo is replaced by Espriella, by Illueca, by Barletta, by Delvalle, and on and on as a masquerade—what interest may that citizen have in political activities? Obviously he loses interest in political activities because he knows that he does not have any influence on political decisions. The American have used that fact. They invaded with the foreknowledge that a great number of people would be indifferent to the invasion. They invaded knowing also that they would confuse the people by saying that they had come to end Noriega's dictatorship. In the population's politicized segment, there was some confusion. Some media reported that some Panamanians paraded in the streets with U.S. flags. Maybe they were paid $150 to parade with the U.S. flags.

I consider the idea of bribing—paying off—the Latin American peoples very shameful, extremely foul. I believe that the idea of invading a country and asking the people to inform on each other, of offering $150 for each weapon turned in....[changes thought] After having impoverished us, they take advantage of this poverty to buy the people's conscience. In my opinion, that is worse than the invasion itself. They must have paid some $200 to those poor people who marched with a U.S. flag and shouted: Viva the United States that freed us from Noriega. That is an insult; that hurts.

The United States—whose arrogance was best answered when an army of hungry, barefooted people repelled its troops and threw them shamefaced out of Vietnam—seems to be using the same method of bribing people in Panama. It is true that whenever there is looting and pillage, there are excited mobs. In all wars, in all occupation operations, there are a certain number of people who try to profit from the situation. The Panamanians who sold themselves for $200 each cannot ignore, however, what happened to the tribes of Laos and Cambodia that were equipped by the United States, that were paid $200 each for their help. When the U.S. troops left, those tribes were entirely exterminated. They were betrayed by the Americans, who abandoned them. Those facts make the invasion still worse. They add economic warfare and the purchase of consciences to the arrogant use of force. History will reserve a special chapter for those acts.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how long do you believe it would take to send the inter-American force to Panama, 2 or 3 days?

[Garcia] I do not want you to believe mistakenly that my proposal is to send an inter-American force to Panama. I am sorry, but let us prioritize things rationally. What I am saying is that, first, the active role in this situation must be played by the OAS; second, that this active role must be played at its highest level, this is, at the level of a Latin American foreign ministers' consultation meeting; third, that this consultation meeting must propose to hold elections in Panama, and seek the best way to faciitate those elections, thus encouraging the de facto regime to demonstrtate its legitimacy—which it lost by opening the doors of the country to the U.S. invasion; fourth, the military presence of Latin America represented in the inter-American force must promote national reconstruction—i.e., must take the necessary steps, and adopt the necessary processes and methods to restore democratic legitimacy.

I believe that this is the best thing Latin America can do. Latin America cannot wash its hands of the Panamanian crisis now. Beware, because this reality, this fait accompli, may end up being accepted by all. People may start to say: Well, the Americans are already in Panama; they have already installed Endara; well, such is life, let things continue as they are. I do not believe in that. I believe that the Latin American presidents cannot wash their hands of this issue. We must do our best.

I believe that to do it we must discuss the issue at the foreign ministers' consultation meeting, which must be summoned immediately. When I started consulting some officials, I was told: Yes, let us hold the meeting at the beginning of January. For God's sake, by the beginning of January there will already have been 12 or 13

days of U.S. occupation of Panama. This meeting must be held immediately. We cannot lose a single minute.

[Reporter] Mr President, don't you agree that this invasion may have been the result of Latin American failure to find a negotiated solution to the Panamanian conflict? I am referring to the failure of the OAS negotiations held after the May crisis. My second question is also related to this one. The UN resolution has shown that several Latin American countries, including Venezuela, did not agree with the Peruvian position.

[Garcia] The first thing I want to say is that it is an absurd, a pro-Yankee pretext, to say that in its negotiations at the OAS Latin America failed and thus left the door open to the Yankee invasion. What has the OAS meeting and its negotiations with Noriega and Endara have to do with the justification for Yankees to invade Panama. I don't see any relation beteen one thing and the other. In the second place, I have always contended that the OAS can orient, suggest, mediate, and pressure, but we never thought of invading Panaama with inter-American forces to topple Noriega and install Endara. We never thought of that. Our actions are limited to diplomatic, political and moral. And if the actors inside Panama did not reach an agreement or did not want to bend rigid positions, this doesn't justify....[changes thought] Who are the Yankees to say that since Latin American diplomacy failed, we will go in? Please, this is a servile or colonial conception. We have always thought that the people must make their own political decisions. We have just seen how in Poland, despite the 1981 Soviet invasion—with my apologies to TASS—despite General Jaruzelsky, but because of the economic crisis and the inconsistency of the government, the government collapsed before Solidarity. We have just seen how the people pulled the Berlin Wall down with their own hands and the soldiers couldn't do anything. It was accomplished because the people realized that they were in the majority. There is no dictator, no matter how bloody, who can remain in power when the majority is against him. We have just seen this in the GDR, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia—where we saw the great and illustrious Dubcek, a man I admire who left in handcuffs in 1968, return to lead a demonstration of 300,000 people. Tell me something: Why can't the Panamanian people do the same? Who are we to decide on behalf of the Panamanian people? Who are the North Americans to decide on behalf of the Panamanian people? So I reject the implication of the question because it reflects what Bush has said and anyone who repeats that argument is serving as an apologist for the U.S. invasion.

[Reporter] I wanted your opinion regarding the implications of Bush's declarations and reports made by the press. I would also like for you to give your opinion on the differences in reactions in Latin America to the invasion.

[Garcia] Well, I did not refer to your question specifically in my energic reply, but to what you mentioned. Bush and some Latin American political sectors have said that the invasion was unavoidable because we failed. It seems to me that behind that argument lies a justification, an acceptance that harms Latin American dignity.

You ask me why the differences? Well because the United States, the IMF, and the industrialized countries favor their own interests in Latin America. They offer each one something: Behave and I will give you a loan; do not behave badly, and I will help you. Look, the leading classes in Latin America before had a foot in the capital of their countries and the other foot in Miami; now they have both feet in Miami. The leading classes, the economically or intellectually powerful clasess, use a reverential tone when speaking to the United States. I have been seeing this since 1985, when I spoke of the debt and said: Look, I do not pay the U.S. banks, and I do not pay the IMF because it does not give me fresh money and it does not make sense. Then I perceived everywhere a reverential fear. Some important friend in Latin America told me: How can you? You won't last. You don't have 5 months if you continue talking to Nicaragua, or if you continue to say that the cocaine market in the United States distorts the agricultural economy in Peru. You won't last. Now here I am, 4 and ½ years later, because it is a paper tiger. The reverential fear is absurd. The policy of disunity, the policy of "I will fare better because I am richer, and I am about to obtain this or that," lets them advance as they please. That is why they dare to slap the face of Latin America as they have just done.

This is an outrageous affront that violates and tramples on Latin American rights. This invasion has to be repudiated and condemned. Unfortunately, however, our democratic system prevents us from making other decisions that would represent a more efficient and active response. You must be wondering why I insist so much on the subject, why I am so interested in the Panamanian crisis. Well, I am a member of the APRA, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, which is an anti-imperialistic Latin American movement. One of the five principles on which the APRA was created referred to the inter-Americanization of the Panama Canal. This is a proof of Haya de la Torre's wonderful lucidity and incredible intuition. In 1924, he realized that Panama would be a permanent object of U.S. strategy and domination. He also realized that Panama, which had been created as a sovereign nation by the Americans 20 years before, would not have sufficient sovereign power to oppose the U.S. interests in the region, and that Latin America would have to unite politically and economically to inter-Americanize the Panama Canal and create a strategic Latin American area. This was Haya de la Torre's inspired, lucid, intuitive, foreseeing proposal. I am surprised to realize that, 65 years later, we are having the same problem that Haya de la Torre proposed as an essential component of his political literature.

You will ask me why there are so many different opinions in Latin America, and I will answer that in Peru we

have an ideology, a doctrine. We are a government, and as such, we face problems like any other Latin American country. We have inflation, we have recession, we have the debt problem, and we have the problem of violence. Despite of all these problems, however, we cannot abandon our guiding ideology. There may be presidents who have no ideology. There may be pragmatic presidents. There may be presidents who like the United States better than Latin American. Who knows? This is why there are so many different opinions. We cannot force everyone to think the way we do. In my opinion, however, Latin America was not courageous enough to join in condemning the U.S. invasion.

[Reporter] Mr President, what do you think of the [word indistinct] foreign ministers' consultation meeting? You have also mentioned that you have talked with Foreign Minister Julio Londono...

[Garcia, interrupting] I am waiting for him to call me back because when I called him he had left Bogota.

[Reporter] What is your opinion about [words indistinct] and regarding the antidrug issue? You have also mentioned that you have held talks with President Virgilio Barco and President Paz Zamora. Do you believe they would support your decision to postpone the meeting?

[Garcia] I still do not know why the consultation meeting has not been summoned yet. If there were three meetings before Panama was invaded, why isn't the meeting held now that there has been an invasion? I cannot understand that. In my opinion, the foreign ministers' meeting is a sine qua non.

Commenting on the drug issue, I must clearly and categorically assert that Peru has a policy to oppose drug trafficking, and it will continue to be implemented. The invasion of Panama has nothing to do with the Peruvian policy to oppose drug trafficking. What I have said is that I cannot meet with President Bush—the invader of Panama—now that his troops are still in Panama. I cannot, and I must not. Not only can I not meet him; I do not want to. As a Latin American citizen, I must not do it.

In spite of all that, I cannot force the Colombian and Bolivian presidents to share my opinion. I have merely explained to them that my position is very clear. I think I would bring dishonor upon Peru if I sat down at a discussion table with the president of a country that has a 30,000-man occupation army in Panama. It would be disgraceful to hold talks about things that have already changed. I believed that there would be talks....[change thought] I believed, I naively believed that things had changed. I wholeheartedly believed that the U.S.-Peruvian relations had changed, that the U.S.-Latin American relations had changed, that there would be a new way of discussing the list of topics that I had submitted to the journalists. I new believe these promises were meant to sweeten our mouths while they were preparing the invasion. How can we explain why the invasion only took place after the Galapagos meeting? Why did it not take place before the Brazilian presidential elections? What would have happened if the Americans had invaded Panama before the Brazilian presidential elections? Everything was meticulously planned and we have all been used. Our good faith has been abused.

[Reporter, interrupting] Then why do that before the antidrug meeting when the subject is is supposedly so important?

[Garcia] Let the chiefs of police meet; let the interior ministers meet. What I rule out is the presidential level. I represent Peru, Barco represents Colombia, and Zamora represents Bolivia. We represent Latin America, politically. A chief of state personifies the nation. That is stated in all Constitutions. And Mr Bush personifies the aggressor state that has acted against a Latin American nation. Now, if they want, let them meet at the level of the drug czar; let Mr Bennett meet with Mantilla, with the Colombian and Bolivian ministers. Let them meet and reach agreements and take action against the drug trafficking. I make that clear so that the Yankees will not distort my statements. The issue is that the representatives of the Latin American nations should not sit with a nation that has attacked a Latin American nation. However, the responsibility for drug trafficking remains; so let Mr Bennett come to Cartagena to meet with Mr Mantilla.

[Reporter] Excuse me. Mr President, you mention that the invasion took place after the Galapagos meeting and the...

[Garcia, interrupting] The presidential election in Brazil, yes.

[Reporter]...in Brazil. Then why [passage indistinct] of President Bush and...

[Garcia, interrupting] Because they had to wait 2 months, and they were impatient to invade. What do you think, eh?

[Reporter] Mr President...

[Garcia, interrupting] They don't know how to use their energy.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] Pardon, I want to express....[changes thought] Peru's relations were at the level of charge d'affaires since before the invasion. When Noriega annulled the election, I recalled the ambassador because he represents the president of the nation. Now we maintain our relations at the charge d'affaires level; our diplomatic and commercial relations are at a lower level with Panama. They will remain at that level.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] Well, I believe that the presidents have done so through their repective communiques. I have talked with

them about the very active role the OAS should play in the coming days. I found out that we agree that we have to use that mechanism rapidly, for it is one of the few that remain if we want to replace the U.S. presence in Panama and guarantee a legitimization of the Panamanian state.

[Reporter] You have repeated over and over the word Yankee in this press conference. Could you explain what it means? The question is [words indistinct], and what will you do with the foreign debt issue that overshadows the path?

[Garcia] I want to say something very clearly. Nobody in the world can hate or slight the U.S. society and U.S. people because of their technological, cultural, and academic level, and because of their democratic system. It is an enviable society. So we appreciate and respect the U.S. people. For us, an American citizen is a U.S. citizen, but when the U.S. Administration—in an act that demonstrates little intelligence and much arrogance—invades a country, it becomes a Yankee. This is the exact meaning of the word. It is a word coined to condemn an evil deed. We respect and love the U.S. people, and we have always been respecful of the the people and the Government of the United States. However, each Marine or each division that that is sent to invade is a Yankee. Do you understand the semantic shade of the term? A Yankee is the U.S. citizen who acts wrongly toward Latin America.

In my talks with Presidents Menem and Barco, they express their agreement with the active role the OAS should play. We will not renounce it to continue business as usual. If we say we can't do anything because, look, if we want to act and they don't pay attention, or if we want to form an inter-American force and the Americans do not allow us, then it is better not to do anything and thereby avoid ridicule. I don't like to act in this way. We have to do things. Look, there is a profound philosphy in [name indistinct], if you remember: The [word indistinct] philosophy. The question in life is not to win, but to act for the sake of justice, even if one is defeated. Do you understand? When I take a stand on the foreign debt, I don't take it to win, but because I believe in the justice of the issue. I know that I may not win now, but we can win later.

When I apply all my argumentative and rhetorical energy to the subject of Panama, and I do so with absolute sincerity, not simply to take a stance, but because as a Latin American I feel greatly offended in a way that you could not understand. I feel terribly offended. If I make demands and if I condemn, I know that nobody will quickly follow me down this road of firmness and condemnation. However, this is a secondary aspect. I wish I were followed, but if am not, this does not detract from the justice of what I am doing. One tries to do what is intrinsically good, not simply what one can necessarily win.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] Pardon me. It would be worse if you didn't do it. It would be less effective, though it would be somewhat effective. Don't be unjust. It would be even less effective if we all remained silent and said: Yes, Uncle Sam, you are the master, and we must obey. We are the Uncle Tom in Latin America.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] Look, I don't expect....[changes thought] We don't have to mix them [passage indistinct]. We continue our negotiation with the IMF, and that to me still seems very positive. May it not turn out as the illusion I had that relations were changing at the poltical level. First, I would not allow a hardening of Peru attitude toward the United States. There is a hardening when one slaps someone else in the face. In this case, we have a concrete subject of discussion. There is a great issue to discuss between Latin America and the United States. You don't have the right to invade. Who called you? Endara himself had to say—because he knows what the Panamanian people are thinking, though a percentage of them are indifferent—about the fact that he did not call them. Do you know what that means? President Endara says that he didn't call for the invasion. This should be automatically understood. For some reason he said it. So I would not call it a hardening. I beg you to understand the exact shade of the term. We are energic in opposing a concrete fact, but what do the people of New Hampshire, the people of California, the people of Georgia, the people of Jefferson, of Whitman, of Lincoln—that great defender of human rights and racial equality—what have they to do with that act? We have to respect the greatness of the United States. From Latin America, the United States is seen in various ways. For the time being, I see it as the Rome of the modern world. I have always thought that the Latin Americans must be understood inside the United States. The Latin American experience has to seen inside the United States. Then a sound relationship will emerge between the two continents. Because the United States is the Rome of the modern world—for the capacity of its atomic legions; for their having concentrated science and philosophy—although both were brought over from Europe as the Romans brought them from Greece—for their having generated an extraordinary technology, and for their being a democracy—the United States must be respected. We will have to distinguish all that from a particular act by the U.S. administration. This is why we say Americans referring to the people of the United States, and say Yankee to define some acts by the U.S. Administration. So I don't believe, sir, that there is a hardening, and I also believe that they understand it very well. I believe they understand me when I tell them that I cannot sit at the table with them when they are killing Panamanian people. Let the ministers, the police chiefs, the prosecutors, the attorney generals sit at a table. That is good. But the representative of the nation? Do you understand what I mean? I think this is a good opportunity to explain it. I do not believe it would be a bad thing for Mr Mantilla to sit with Mr Bennett or with the justice minister of

Colombia. I do not believe this would be bad. This is the proof that we want to continue the antidrug plan, but those who personify the nation cannot meet. We cannot do so under the present circumstances. So this is not hardening. As for the IMF, I believe that it is an absolutely different matter. These matters are well differentiated. I am not here as a demagogue, as some right-wing media assert. Those people are frightened when I draw a lot of people despite my poltical decline. I am not being a demagogue, and I am not here because the best way to win votes is to indulge in anti-American politics from here until 28 July 1990. I will not lapse into that irresponsibility. Here we have a concrete fact that has nothing to do with our cultural, commercial, political, and economic relations with organizations where the United States may or may not have influence. I separate things very well.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] I think you are right; that is what the Group of Eight should do. That is what we demand from the Group of Eight. On Wednesday morning, when the invasion of Panama began, I summoned a news conference here to state immediately our position regarding this event. We have not taken a step further or retreated from the position we expressed 8 hours after Panama was invaded.

At that moment, we observed that well-intentioned and well-advised Peruvian politicians were saying that we had made a hasty decision, that we should have waited, and that perhaps we exaggerated. They said: This incident will not have so many repercussions in Latin America; why make such a scandal?

In fact, the reactions we were receiving from the rest of the Latin American countries on Wednesday morning did not satisfy me as a Latin American. However, I am finding U.S. reactions satisfactory. THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST are more sympathetic to Latin America than some Latin Americans themselves. I congratulate these newspapers because they clearly see that the United States has entered a blind alley in Panama. It is like stepping on one of those mines that does not explode when one steps on it but when one takes his foot off it. That is what has happened to the United States in Panama.

If the United States invaded Panama with the best intentions for solving a problem, it has created a problem 10 times larger, which in the end will force it to stay there and become mired in that situation. What will happen with the border countries now? What will happen to all the Latin Americans left? What will happen with all the subversive movements of Latin America? Do you realize that we retreated nearly 30 years in the interpretation of the Latin American subversive struggle?

I do believe that THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial of 22 December has been much more lucid than many Latin American foreign ministries, because it has realized from the U.S. perspective the mess the United States has gotten into—a mess with Latin America and the left on this continent. There is an urgent need for the U.S. forces to be replaced by at least an inter-American force. Those forces should leave as soon as possible, and Endara should call elections. I think it is one of the most lucid positions.

It is clear that it will be very difficult for the United States to leave immediately. The longer they stay, the more difficult it will be to leave. This is the case. And what will happen with Nicaragua? What will happen with the Colombian subversive guerrillas? What will happen with our subversive movements? What will happen with the subversive movements that are probably being born in Latin America right now? The U.S. action must be psychologically and morally moving them to take up arms.

What will happen to El Salvador? What will happen to Cuba, which was besieged with the concepts of perestroyka? I imagine that my friend Fidel Castro, when he observed that Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were falling and that Gorbachev wanted to shock the socialist world down to its roots in name of socialism, must have felt abandoned by all his closest friends. Suddenly, thanks to the U.S. wisdom, he once again has a concrete reason with which to justify his political concepts.

All this was caused by a U.S. general from the Pentagon without his realizing. I do not think that President Bush evaluated all these consequences. I think that when one has a lot of power, one has the duty to be much more responsible and prudent. Those of us in the world who do not have much power or great political and military influence may have the right to be a bit more imprudent. Those who have the power of the United States are 1,000 times more obliged to be prudent. The United States has not been prudent.

In a CNN transmission I normally watch, I observed the happiness with which Noriega's request for asylum was greeted. I thought to myself: He has created a new, larger problem for them, because if Noriega were lost in the Chiriqui jungles he would have simply been a memory, but Noriega in the nunciature is a new and very large problem. I was also touched by what I saw during the transmission of a baseball game. The Americans had set up a sign stating: Merry Christmas to all our boys in Panama [preceding eight words in English]. They don't realize that in 1968 they were saying the same thing when they were arriving in Vietnam. It was the same thing.

This is a very serious problem. I am saying this as a democratic Latin American president. The United States does not understand the irrationality they have introduced into Latin America for the next few years. They do not understand this. I am worried over the possibility that even if they understood, it they would have carried

out their invasion anyway. It would mean an abuse. But they do not realize what they have done, that is what worries me. The United States is in a blind alley.

The problem now is not only to help the Panamanian people to recover their sovereignty, but to induce these intelligent occupation forces to leave Panama. They will not be able to leave Panama by themselves. The OAS must play its role now, and so must the Latin American presidents.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what has been Baena Soare's reaction to a possible meeting of Latin American foreign ministers?

[Garcia] I chatted with Baena Soares until 2350 last night and then I had to leave him so that he could be with his family. He thought it was absolutely reasonable to summon a foreign ministers meeting. Look, the permanent council that met this week, which is of a lower level, has agreed to summon the consultation meeting at an appropriate moment. I think that the appropriate moment is now. I told Baena Soares so, and he completely agrees. I think that Baena Soares not only has goodwill, but also understands the Latin American point of view. He also has the political capacity with which to lead us. That is what these organizations are for. That is what the OAS is for. We cannot give this up, and we cannot wait for the new year. This is a decisive week.

In Latin America we say that what we do on the evening of 31 December and on 1 January, we will do throughout the whole year. Please, if we do not find a solution and the Americans are still in Panama on 1 January, they will stay there all next year. The analysts must take notice of what this will mean for Latin American politics.

I will no longer keep you from your Christmas celebration. I beg you to excuse me for this meeting. You have been given neither chocolate nor fruitcake.

[Reporter] Mr. President, on behalf of the association of foreign correspondents, we want to thank you for this news conference and wish you a happy new year. We will probably meet again at the beginning of the next year.

[Garcia] Thank you very much. Merry Christmas.